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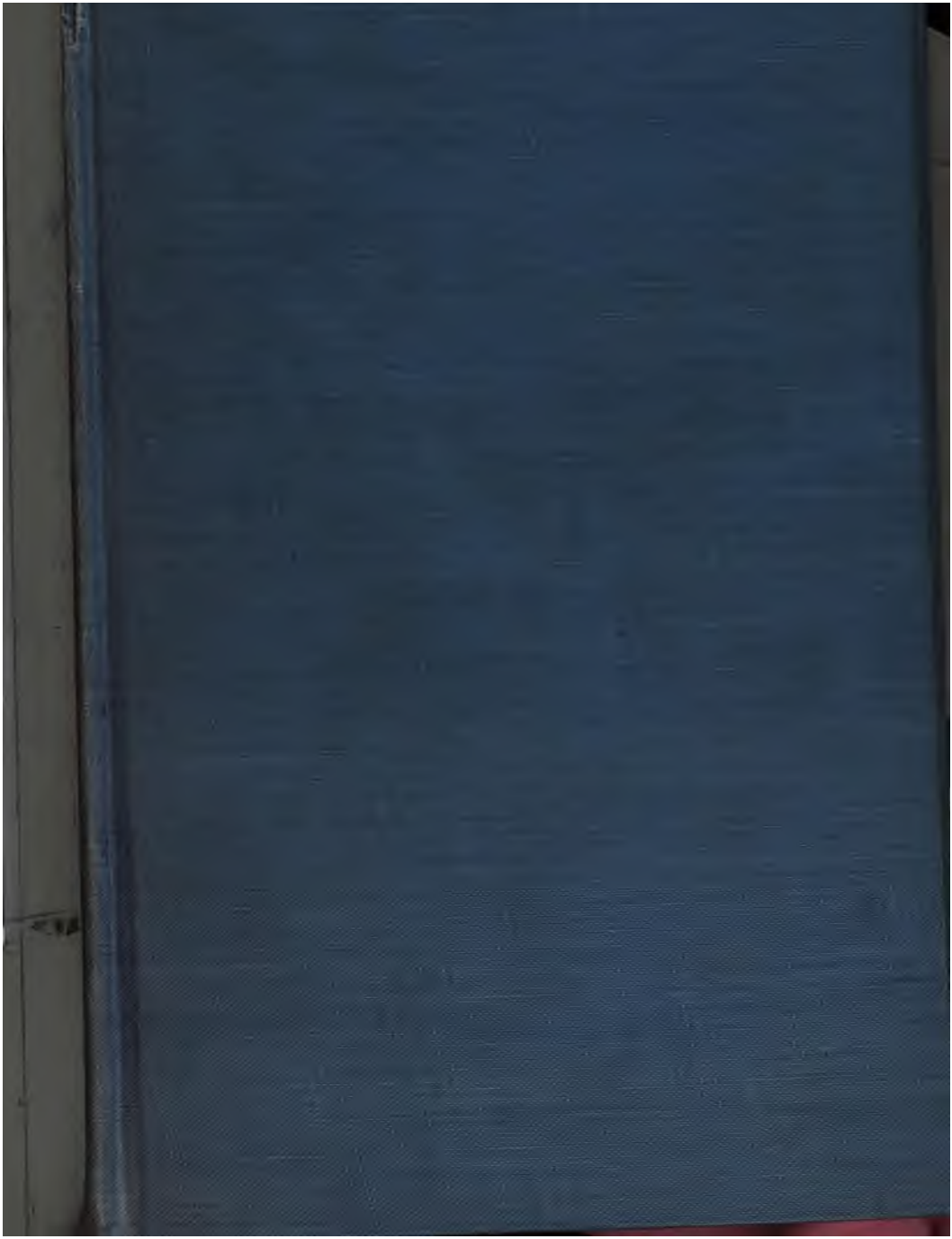

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WHY WE ARE DEMOCRATS;

— OR —

THE PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES OF THE

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

DR. G. S. BLOOM,

[illegible]

THE POLITICAL TEACHINGS OF THE FATHERS OF THE REPUBLIC—
PLATFORMS OF THE VARIOUS CONVENTIONS—
DOCTRINES OF REPRESENTATIVE
DEMOCRATS

From the Foundation of the Government to the Present Day.

CHICAGO AND NEW YORK:
BELFORD, CLARKE & CO.

WHY WE ARE DEMOCRATS;

OR,

THE PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES OF

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

BY S. S. BLOOM,

OF SHELBY, OHIO.

CONTAINING

A CONCISE STATEMENT OF THE LEADING PRINCIPLES OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES, AS TAUGHT BY THE FATHERS OF THE REPUBLIC, ENUNCIATED IN THE NATIONAL PLATFORMS, AND PROCLAIMED BY REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRATS FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE GOVERNMENT TO THE PRESENT DAY.

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WHY WE ARE DEMOCRATS.

CHAPTER I.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

HON. WILLIAM ALLEN'S DESCRIPTION OF DEMOCRACY—DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES ETERNAL — JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON — DEMOCRACY THE CORNER STONE OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC —IMPORTANT THAT ALL DEMOCRATS SHOULD BE INSTRUCTED IN THE PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES OF DEMOCRACY—OPPONENTS OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES SHOULD BE BETTER VERSED IN THE PRINCIPLES THEY OPPOSE—DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES NEVER CHANGE—IMPORTANCE OF INTELLIGENT AND PATRIOTIC VOTING—DEMOCRACY HAS A WELL-DEFINED AND COMPREHENSIVE POLICY.

HON. WILLIAM ALLEN, once a noted United States Senator from Ohio, described Democracy in beautiful language when he said: "Democracy is a sentiment not to be appalled, corrupted or compromised. It knows no baseness, it cowers to no danger; it oppresses no weakness. Fearless, generous and humane, it rebukes the arrogant, cherishes honor, and sympathizes with the humble.

It asks nothing but what it concedes; it concedes nothing but what it demands. Destructive only of despotism, it is the sole conservator of liberty, labor and property. It is the sentiment of freedom, of equal rights and equal obligations. It is the law of nature pervading the land. The stupid, the selfish, and the base in spirit may denounce it as a vulgar thing; but in the history of our race, the Democratic principle has developed and illustrated the highest moral and intellectual attributes of our nature. It is a noble, a sublime sentiment which expands our affections, enlarges the circle of our sympathies, and elevates the soul of man, until claiming an equality with the best, it rejects as unworthy of its dignity, any political immunities over the humblest of his fellows. Yes, it is an ennobling principle; and may that spirit which animated our revolutionary Fathers in their contest for its establishment, continue to animate us, their sons, in the impending struggle for its preservation."

Thus eloquently spoke an honored and revered member of the Democratic party, years ago, who came very near being made the Democratic candidate for President by the convention which nominated Franklin Pierce.

Another honored member of the party but recently has declared concerning the principles of the party: "They are eternal—a Divine fire burning in the hearts of men. They quicken the

thoughts of the statesman, nerve the arm of the soldier, and double the energies of the toiler. They are found in the self-evident truth of the American patriot who declared that all men are created equal. Democracy is the unrelenting foe of despotism and communism, whether open or sought to be hidden under the disguise of paternal government. Its beneficent office in political affairs is to secure to every man the utmost possible liberty of action consistent with equal liberty to every other. It is not the office of the Democratic party to invent, but to promulgate—not to discover, but to declare those eternal principles, and to apply them to the ever-changing affairs of human society.

Old—eternal Democracy is founded on the living law of political affairs—that the largest liberty should be every man's heritage, consistent with law and order. Therefore it is that the Democratic party stands for the individual against the encroachments of the state, for the rights of the states against the encroachments of the federal government; for home rule against foreign interference and agression. Its corner stone is the principle of the capability of individual man, with the aid of Divine grace, to govern himself, and of each individual man united in society to govern society with the least possible interference from society with the individual concerns of man. Therefore it stands for personal liberty as against aristocracy,

which stands for an impudent attempt of those who style themselves the best, to interfere with the liberties of those whom they choose to think their inferiors.

The Democratic party dates, therefore, from every attempt to interfere with liberty; it is the resistance to that liberty which means Democracy. It dates in our own government from the differences of opinion which those great leaders, Jefferson and Hamilton entertained with regard to the scope and duty of civil government. Hamilton was the regulating, ordaining, and controlling mind on the one side, and on the other was Jefferson, the philosophical statesman, who never attempted to regulate nor control, but who with great quiet energy of infusing principles, enabled popular rights to take care of themselves. From these two great statesmen arose two great parties—the Jeffersonian and Hamiltonian, and to-day they stand in conflict with each other as completely as at the time when Mr. Jefferson was elected.

Those two parties—one favoring a Paternal government, seeking to regulate from above—the other, Democratic, favoring equal rights, seeking to spread their beneficient influence around — these are the two hostile and conflicting views which are arrayed against each other.

When any new idea is suggested, one can tell in a moment whether the man advancing it be a Democrat in sentiment, or the opposite in his ideas,

by the proposed plan of action, the manner in which the idea of control should be applied. The men who believe in the precepts of Jefferson, who believe that each man is clothed with Divine endowments with the largest measure of liberty which is consistent with law and order; that each man is the best judge of what he believes will benefit himself, so far as, in so doing, he does not interfere with the liberty and rights of others."

These sentiments meet a proud response in the hearts of millions of Democrats, and yet how many really know what Democracy means? They are members of the party which bears that ennobling name, and promulgates these glorious sentiments of free government among men; they are enthusiastic in its support, but they have given the matter too little thought, have spent too little time in their investigation to be fully informed of the very principles which they profess to love, revere and support.

They know but little of the reasons which influenced the founders of that party when first organized, and when its great leaders first began to administer government in accordance with its doctrines. Believing that many who have hitherto opposed its principles and its policy would be glad to have an opportunity to review the grounds upon which the faith of the American Democracy rests, the writer has prepared the following pages as a brief compend of those principles which have con-

trolled the actions of eminent Democratic statesmen in the past, and which now prompt the actions of the honest, true-hearted faithful adherents of that party,—principles which its leaders must uphold and defend, if they would be instrumental in perpetuating, not only the great party to which they belong, but the government itself, which was so firmly established upon those great principles of human liberty, and which, as a system, is the very corner stone upon which the whole fabric rests.

We should know why we are Democrats! It is but simple justice to ourselves, to be properly informed on this subject; it is due our manhood; due the dignity of American citizens, that we have knowledge on this subject, in order that we may render a clear, logical, and concise reason for every political action we perform—for every ballot we deposit. All have not had the opportunity so to inform themselves; they have not access to the depositories of this knowledge, and must depend upon political speeches delivered during heated campaigns, or upon the columns of political newspapers, published by leading and eminent Democratic leaders; hence it is that a calm, deliberate discussion and statement of the elementary principles of Democracy, in their homes and by their firesides, is what the voters so much need, that they, too, may learn of those principles, which actuated the founders of the great Democratic party, when they first expounded them to the voters of the country; and that they may by their

intelligent votes favor that party with their support, which for more than three quarters of a century, whether in or out of power, has more or less influenced the administration of public affairs. A statement of those principles, gathered from authentic sources, published in a compact and convenient form, with such explanations as may suggest themselves, it is believed will supply this need, so that all who aspire to become intelligent Democratic voters, may know why they are such,—know the elementary principles upon which their faith is founded.

Those who have not heretofore supported that party should know the reason why! They should know the reasons which call forth so much enthusiasm at every returning national election. There is a reason for it and they should know it. It is always wise to fully comprehend the positions of our opponents. Why should not those who oppose Democracy, know our reasons for being Democrats? If these reasons are unsound, they will be all the better prepared to overcome our arguments, by first knowing what they are. It is an evidence of weakness in their cause, if they refuse to do this. It is an evidence of confident strength in *our* cause, when we challenge an investigation; it shows that we are at least honest, and sincere, in what we profess to believe.

Not everything which assumes to be Democratic is so! Hypocrisy is said to be the compliment which

vice pays to virtue. Things most rare and valuable are usually the first to be counterfeited. A mere name does not demonstrate a principle. Intelligent men dive beneath the surface to ascertain from what motives professions proceed, and they very reasonably look to the measures advocated and actions performed, to discover upon what principles they are founded, before they will give adherence to or advocate them as being best calculated to bring peace, happiness and prosperity to the masses. Party names, therefore, do not always represent what they express in technical words. These sometimes change, and even political parties may assume to change their principles. Democratic principles are ever the same, and herein lies the beauty and strength, and durability of the Democratic party. In free governments like ours, in the varied questions which constantly arise, consequent upon the ever-changing circumstances of the case, new applications of old and well established rules must necessarily arise. It therefore becomes a patriotic duty, which every citizen owes to his country, to be well informed concerning the principles and methods adopted by political parties, so that when he identifies himself with any party, he may feel at ease within its ranks, and be able to conscientiously maintain and support it before his fellow men.

It is to aid somewhat the inquiring reader in this work of investigation, that the writer invites the voters of all parties to examine the principles and

policy of the great Democratic party, that each may know the reasons why, and when convinced, give that assent to its doctrines, absolutely necessary to maintain its organization.

It should be the aim of every voter—the laudable ambition of every citizen—to cast his ballot at every election, so as to give to his mind the strongest possible assurance that the policy proposed by his party will result in the greatest good to the greatest number of his fellow men. It should be the ambition of every voter who has little else to do in the administration of public affairs than to cast an intelligent ballot, that he should vote wisely and patriotically. That ends the sovereign power of the voter until the return of another election. Those he aids in electing to office are, it is true, his public servants, but they are also the chosen agents of his sovereign will, and it therefore becomes a matter of great importance to him to know not only for whom he votes, but, also upon what principles he for whom he votes casts his ballots, or in what manner he proposes to administer this great trust. It is only by electing such agents as most nearly represent his views that he can make his sovereign power to be felt; it becomes important, therefore, for him to know not only why he himself is a Democrat, but that he for whom he votes is also a Democrat.

In order to enable the intelligent voter the more readily to comprehend the difference between the

parties, and to learn from the public expressions by candidates and from party platforms what the views of such party representatives really are, and upon what principles they are founded, this little book is written. From its pages we trust they may learn what the creed of the Democratic party really is, whether those which are announced as Democratic principles really are such; and that if any, as Jefferson has so tersely stated it, in moments of doubt or alarm have really wandered away from them, that they may hasten their return to the well beaten path of a genuine Democracy. The writer indulges the hope that before they have concluded the perusal of these pages they will have learned that the Democratic party has always had, and now has a clear and well defined system of government and policy of administering the same upon every question of state or national import; and that Democrats have good and substantial reasons for each and every measure of public policy, founded upon these fundamental principles of Democracy, in perfect accord with the best experience of past ages, all in perfect harmony with the true spirit of our Democratic-Republican institutions.

It is no blind adherence to party idols—the mere popular worship of so-called great men — that makes men Democrats; but it is their belief in certain principles upon which a free government should be administered, and which to them promises the highest good to themselves and their fel-

low men, that impels them to associate together for the purpose of promoting their desires. It is principle which makes men Democrats, and it is their adherence to those principles which makes the Democracy the organized power in the land which it always has been. It is to a study of these principles our readers are invited while perusing these pages.

The principles and traditionary policy of the Democracy should be well understood. They should be well defined. They should be implicitly adhered to. A wise general policy on almost every question liable to arise has been marked out by the Fathers of the Constitution. They framed and put into successful operation nearly a century ago, a Government, so well provided with checks and balances against the exercise of arbitrary power, for the protection of the lives, liberties and property of the people, that if properly administered, it is, we confidently believe, the best form of government ever devised by man. It is a claim the Democratic party has ever put forward that their principles have been more in accord with the true theory upon which that Government is founded, than those of any other party organization, and that in accordance with those principles, and upon the policy thus marked out, our government can alone be smoothly and successfully administered.

A party, in order to be successful, must educate its adherents into a clear knowledge of its aims and purposes; and they must earnestly believe in the

justness and correctness of those principles The Democracy, then, must know what they believe, and be acquainted with the reasons why they believe in those principles; and then, being convinced that the happiness, comfort and welfare of themselves and their posterity depend upon the application of those principles to the administration of public affairs, they possess one of the strongest incentives to labor for the ultimate triumph of those principles. Such a party cannot be broken up and destroyed while the government it sustains continues to exist. Therefore a wise general policy has been marked out by the Democracy, by which they propose to administer the affairs of government. Without fundamental principles a party cannot long exist. A party founded upon a single idea, is, and necessarily must be, short lived. One great reason why the Democratic party has so long existed under that name, and has so successfully perpetuated itself for nearly a century in the United States is due to these reasons. It has always maintained a code of principles, transmitted from one generation to another, and hence to-day maintains the same fundamental principles, and proposes to pursue the same general policy, which the founders of the party proclaimed nearly a century ago. By the application of these principles, and the pursuit of this policy, they have sought to administer the affairs of this government, and so long as they were

strictly adhered to, peace, happiness and general prosperity prevailed.

The fact that these principles are scattered through the records of the past—ofttimes inaccessible to the masses—is one reason why they are not now so generally known by the people; and the fact that they have been practically out of power for nearly a quarter of a century, in the administration of the Federal government, has prevented these principles from being so thoroughly impressed upon the great mass of the people as in former years. There is therefore a greater necessity for a revival of this knowledge,—a more general diffusion of those principles, than when its faithful leaders are at the head of public affairs, where they can apply those principles to the administration of public affairs, and the people learn, almost by intuition, what now must be sought for more by research and investigation. With the increased light shed upon the nation by the more general diffusion of knowledge, should come a more thorough knowledge of the principles which underlie free Democratic government. The area over which our government exerts its influence having been many times multiplied, and the intelligence of the people greatly increased in other things, there is all the more necessity for a better knowledge of Democratic principles, and a more strict application of them to the affairs of a government derived from the people, over this vast extent

of territory, now almost embracing the entire continent of North America.

For these, and many other reasons which might be adduced, the principles of the American Democracy should be well understood—nay they should be *better* understood than ever before, during the history of our country.

CHAPTER II.

THE ORIGIN OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES PREVAILED IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME — MAGNA CHARTA—THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES CONTAIN THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY.

THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES may be traced far back in the history of ancient governments. Their origin — the very dawning of their light—may be seen in the free governments of ancient Greece and Rome. They may be found shining more and more along succeeding ages, through the annals of the British government—bursting with increased brilliancy over the events at the granting of Magna Charta on the banks of Runnymede where first they were wrested from the English crown, and along the line of the ages, until planted upon American soil by reason of the attempted oppression of the mother country, and for more than a century nurtured and cultivated along the Atlantic coast, preceding the American revolution. Even in colonial times here in the western wilds of America, governments were established as a means of protection "of the people, by the people, and for the people;" and this, even when the British

sovereign still *pretended* to possess the power to grant these God-given rights to his dutiful subjects. But when the Declaration of American Independence was first written and thundered into the ears of the mightiest government then on earth; when they were watered by the blood shed through a long and tedious war, and finally established in the Constitution of the United States, the principles of the American Democracy began first to be formulated into something like a substantial political system, from which began to flow tangible results designed to bless the whole world by their beneficent influences. A Democrat must thoroughly believe in the principles declared and established in those immortal documents drafted by American Democrats, and from them he must draw his political inspirations; in them he finds his first lessons of instruction, and upon them must be founded his political faith. They have stood the test for over a hundred years in America, and the application thereof has never failed to produce beneficent results whenever justly applied; they have proved themselves efficient in stilling the tempest of civil war, and how often they have saved internal strife and bloodshed, none can ever know.

In these documents and the Bill of Rights preceding them, can be found the best compend of Democratic doctrines ever promulgated by mortal men. These were framed exclusively for the people, by the agents of the people, and adopted by the people

for the protection of the liberties of themselves and their posterity. These immortal men had studied well the history of ancient free governments; and directed by what seems more than human wisdom, even though enlightened by the experience of past ages, they placed, as the foundation of that Constitution, those inalienable rights and privileges of freemen which arbitrary power can never successfully or long wrest from them while the people remain true to themselves, and faithful to their political trusts. They drafted those documents in such plain and simple terms that it would seem no one could misunderstand their meaning, and though the area of territory over which the states have now extended, reaching far over the plains of the then unknown west, and to them a foreign country, and still extending to the far off shores of the Pacific—they seem to be as applicable to-day as they were when first engrossed for formal adoption. Their provisions are too plain to be misunderstood, and it is this which Democrats mean when they say that they adhere to "a strict construction of the Constitution," because they believe human rights and liberties have the same old foes to contend against, and having safely guided the ship of state on its hitherto almost unparalleled prosperous voyage, they are unwilling to change its principles, but bid it Godspeed through the ages to come, that it may serve the same blessed purposes down to the latest period of time. Democrats have in these revered

documents a compendium of first principles of free government, to which they cannot too often resort when embarrassed by doubts as to what course to pursue in seasons of difficulty and trouble. Hence it is that the frequent perusal and study of the symbols of Democracy — the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States —is earnestly urged upon those who would study the principles of the party more in detail than our space will permit within the compass of this work.

CHAPTER III.

DUTY OF DEMOCRATS.

A HENRY CLAY WHIG ASKS A YOUNG DEMOCRAT A QUESTION —HEREDITARY DEMOCRATS—THE SOVEREIGN VOTER SHOULD HAVE A WELL-DEFINED POLITICAL CREED—THE PRINCIPLES LIE WIDELY SCATTERED IN VARIOUS DOCUMENTS, SPEECHES, AND COLUMNS OF NEWSPAPERS—DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM.

THE DUTY OF DEMOCRATS TO KNOW WHAT THEIR PRINCIPLES ARE! Over forty years ago, during the memorable campaign of 1842, when the writer was yet a mere boy, among the hills of Pennsylvania when asked by a venerable Henry Clay Whig, *why* he so young professed to be a Democrat, he could not answer the question. He felt ashamed of his ignorance, and immediately determined by investigation to *know* the reason why, and if ever again asked the same question, to be able to render an intelligent reason for the faith that was in him. It is the duty of every Democrat, who aspires to the least intelligence, to be able to do likewise. It certainly must be very unsatisfactory to an intelligent young man to say that he is a Democrat, because his father before him was one; that he was raised in that belief, and that he proposes to remain so; or

that his neighbors, whose opinions he respects, and who ought to know what is right, are Democrats, and that he will support that party simply because they do. He should have a well defined political creed, and know upon what principles it rests. It is due to those who ask him; it is due to his own manhood and self respect, as a sovereign voter that he should have knowledge on that subject, in order that when asked he may be able to render a clear, concise and logical reason for his political faith and actions. When an unprejudiced voter has fully informed himself of the principles of the Democratic party, he will find no reason to be ashamed of joining its fortunes, and espousing its cause. Rather will he become proud of the fact, that he sustains an organization, which represents principles, without the practice of which neither our own, nor the enlightened nations of the earth in other lands, would be what they are to-day; rather should he be ashamed when requested so to do, to be unable to render a reason for his political faith.

The writer does not urge this duty upon others, because he claims to be the author or expounder of those principles, but only the medium through whom they have been gathered from various sources where found, and the publication of them in this convenient form for the benefit of thousands of such, who are Democrats, and who, desiring to be honest with themselves, can be nothing else in sentiment, but who have no other means by which to

have clearly set before them the principles they have espoused, and which they desire to see applied in the administration of public affairs.

These principles of Democracy are found as we have already said in Magna Charta; the Declaration of Independence; the Constitution of the United States; in the farewell address of Washington; in the messages of the early presidents; in the speeches of great senators and public speakers, as well as in the columns of Democratic newspapers, and the platforms of party conventions. These principles are the heritage left us by the great leaders of public sentiment anterior to the formation of our government, in their contest against tyranny and oppression—kingly powers and imperial prerogatives. Growing with the growth of freedom in all ages, they form a part of the history of our race in its progress from the darkness and superstition of barbarism, to the present high position of enlightenment and civilization. How then could the ordinary reader, who is compelled to toil from day to day to support himself and family, ever expect to acquaint himself with them by detail, when he has neither the time nor means to search for them among the records of the past? It is simply impossible. The strength of the Democratic party, so far as mere numbers is concerned, is in the toiling millions of our country, and in truth it should be equally strong in the general intelligence of the voters on the subject of those principles; because in the just-

ness, the correctness and imperative necessity of the application of those principles in the administration of free government, lies the real strength of the Democratic party. It therefore becomes the duty of the members of that party, when they thus had brought together, in a brief, codified, consolidated form, these principles, by means of which they may the more easily learn and comprehend them, to give some little attention to acquire a better knowledge of them.

Surely sufficient time to perusè these pages can be gained from the hours of labor, and it certainly is the imperative duty of every freeman to learn more of the administration of public affairs, in order to promote his own welfare, and transmit to posterity the beneficent form of government bequeathed to us by the Democratic Fathers of the Republic.

There is another reason why it is the duty of Democrats to be well informed as to their recognized principles. Not everything which claims to be Democracy, is always such, in the popular acceptation of the term. As an illustration may be cited the maxim, "that the majority must rule"—which is a recognized Democratic doctrine; but it taken in its absolute sense, without reference to constitutional limitations, the doctrine might degenerate into mere Communism, which is by no means Democracy as understood by the party. Communism elevates the state above the citizen; Democracy elevates the citizen, shields him in his personal rights, and makes

him a freeman indeed. Thus it is that care must be taken to distinguish the true from the false Democracy, and in order to do this it becomes our duty to correctly inform ourselves as to what really is the genuine article.

Party names do not always mean what they express. Intelligent men are obliged to go beneath the surface, and ascertain from the principles professed, and the actions performed by political parties, whether their policies are founded on correct principles, and will have the desired effect in bringing peace, happiness and prosperity to the masses affected by them.

So, also, parties may change, and names with them, but principles never; and in the varied questions which arise in every free government, there is ever a necessity for some new application of some old, well established principles, so that, if properly informed, few need long remain in doubt as to the course they ought to pursue.

It is the duty of every voter to inform himself thoroughly of the principles and methods of political parties, so that when he identifies himself with either, he may feel assured that he will be at ease in its ranks, and be able to conscientiously maintain and support its principles and purposes. It is to aid the reader in this work that he is invited to examine the principles of the National Democratic Party, in order to know for himself whether his mind can give assent to its policy or not.

To enable the reader, whether voter or candidate, to more readily answer the question—Why am I a Democrat ?—these pages are prepared, hoping they will answer the purposes intended, and meet with a cordial reception, not only from intelligent Democrats who already can clearly render a reason for the faith which is in them, but from those also who are in search of information on the subject.

This duty of the voter, and most especially of the Democratic voter, to inform himself of the tenets of his party being so self-evident, he will be prepared to enter upon the study of the same as they are gathered from the sources already indicated. As they are presented in consecutive order he will find new truths enunciated and principles exemplified, that, we doubt not, he will be able to apply them to almost any question which may arise under either our national or state administrations, and keep himsels in perfect harmony with the living principles of the American Democracy.

CHAPTER IV.

PRINCIPLES OF THE GREAT LEADERS—WASHINGTON AND JEFFERSON.

WASHINGTON'S LEGACY TO HIS COUNTRY—HIS PLEA FOR UNION—UNION A FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINE OF DEMOCRACY — WARNS AGAINST SECTIONALISM — THE HEAPING UP OF PUBLIC DEBT—URGES HIS COUNTRY TO DEAL WISELY WITH FOREIGN NATIONS —TO GUARD AGAINST THE SPIRIT OF INNOVATION—JEFFERSON THE BEST EXPOUNDER OF DEMOCRACY — "FATHER OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY." — MANIFESTO OF MARCH 4TH, 1801 — A PLATFORM OF SIXTEEN PLANKS.

WASHINGTON lived before the days of party politics. He exemplified his principles by his conduct, whether at the head of the army or of the civil administration. He had studied well the principles of free governments in former ages, and was well grounded in the faith. In his farewell address to the American people he left a legacy any party might well be proud of. Not because he was at the head of a so-called Democratic or Republican or *any* party, but because the few fundamental prinples upon which rested the perpetuity of the Union, which he announced, have always been a part of the faith of the Democracy, does it become appropriate here to insert those principles. No person

can be a sound Democrat, who cannot give unqualified assent to them. In substance he announced the following principles:

"*The union of the government is the main pillar in the edifice of our real independence.* The support of our tranquility at home, our peace abroad, of our safety and our prosperity—yea of the very liberty all so highly prize."

He warned his countrymen that from different causes and from different quarters, great pains would be taken (as was the case three-quarters of a century after that), and many artifices would be employed to weaken in the minds of the people, the conviction of this great truth. *He told them that this was a point in their political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies would most constantly and most actively, though covertly and insidiously, direct their assaults.*

He entreated them to cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to the Union; accustoming them to think and speak of it as the palladium of their political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever might even suggest a suspicion that it could in any event be abandoned; *and indignantly frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our countrymen from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which link together the various parts of our common country.*

Whether he called himself a Democrat or not makes no difference—this principle of cherishing an absolute devotion to the existence of the Union, under one form of government, *is a sacred Democratic principle* that must be subscribed to by every citizen of this great Republic who aspires to be called an American Democrat. It is because Democrats have ever entertained the same convictions, and (save by the men who *called* themselves Democrats, but had forgotten or disregarded the warning voice of Washington, and went into a rebellion against the government, thereby seeking to destroy the Union,) have ever been true to these principles, and above all other parties, most profoundly impressed with the truth of this doctrine, that they have been Democrats.

Washington sought by most cogent arguments to impress upon his countrymen, that all parts of the country, North, South, East and West, had a common destiny and a common interest in the general welfare of every other section, and because each added strength and security to the other, and in this sense the Union was the main prop of our liberties, so that the love for one should endear to the people the preservation of the other, and thus become the primary object of patriotic desire.

Democrats believe all this; and though the party itself became distracted, and many of its adherents were dragged into a rebellion, still, as soon as military force was overcome and the conviction of the

mind could be freely exercised, even those again became as ardently attached to the Union as any other portion of our people, and since the close of the war have sought by every means within their power to bring together and bind more closely the whole people of this Union in the bonds of a fraternal brotherhood of states.

Washington warned his countrymen against sectionalism! He cautioned them that designing men, as they ever have, would endeavor to excite a belief that there was a real difference of local interests and views. He said one of the expedients of partyism would be to acquire influence in one particular section, by misrepresenting the opinions and aims of another section, and that they could not shield themselves *too much* against the jealousies and heart-burnings aroused by these misrepresentations, which tended to alienate the sections from each other, instead of binding them more closely together with fraternal regard and affection. It is because they have seen the Democratic party endeavoring by every possible means in its power to inculcate these same great truths, while its opponents have conducted themselves towards one section precisely in the way and manner Washington suggested men would, that they are forced to be Democrats, when true to their convictions of right.

He cautioned his countrymen *against heaping up public debts for posterity to pay, thus ungenerously throwing upon them burdens which we, ourselves,*

should pay. This whole business of bonded indebtedness is un-Democratic, and ought not to be indulged in, if by any means it can be avoided. It is true that Democrats have been led astray by the plausible arguments of those who regarded "public debts as public blessings," still the Democratic party as such, has ever denounced the practice, and because they have always coincided with Washington's teaching in this particular, they are Democrats.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, he conjured his fellow-citizens, their jealousy ought to be constantly awake. Numerous opportunities would be offered, he said, to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence public councils.

No attachment, therefore, for one nation to the exclusion of another should be tolerated. Such conduct would lead to concessions to one nation, and denials of privileges to others, and would invite a multitude of evils upon it.

It is because this has been a fundamental principle of the Democratic party, who most heartily believe in the doctrine, hence they are Democrats.

Washington also advised his countrymen *to resist with care the spirit of innovation upon the principles on which the government was founded,* however specious the pretext might be. One method of assault would be, he said, to effect under the forms of the Constitution, alterations which would impair the whole system. It is because,

that his neighbors, whose opinions he respects, and who ought to know what is right, are Democrats, and that he will support that party simply because they do. He should have a well defined political creed, and know upon what principles it rests. It is due to those who ask him; it is due to his own manhood and self respect, as a sovereign voter that he should have knowledge on that subject, in order that when asked he may be able to render a clear, concise and logical reason for his political faith and actions. When an unprejudiced voter has fully informed himself of the principles of the Democratic party, he will find no reason to be ashamed of joining its fortunes, and espousing its cause. Rather will he become proud of the fact, that he sustains an organization, which represents principles, without the practice of which neither our own, nor the enlightened nations of the earth in other lands, would be what they are to-day; rather should he be ashamed when requested so to do, to be unable to render a reason for his political faith.

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5. A jealous care of the right of election by the people, a mild and safe corrective of abuses, which are lopped by the sword of revolution where peaceable means are unprovided.

6. Absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority, the vital principles of republics, from which there is no appeal but to *force* the vital principle, and immediate parent of despotism.—(This, of course, subject to constitutional limitations.)

7. A well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace, and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them.

8. The supremacy of the civil over the military authority.

9. Economy in the public expenses, that labor may be lightly burthened.

10. The honest payment of our debts, and the sacred preservation of the public faith.

11. Encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid.

12. The diffusion of information, and arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason.

13. Freedom of religion.

14. Freedom of the press.

15. Freedom of the person, under the protection of the *habeas corpus*.

16. Trial by juries, impartially selected.

These principles, said Jefferson, "form the bright constellation, which has gone before us, and guided our steps through the age of revolution and refor-

mation. The wisdom of our sages, and the blood of our heroes, have been devoted to their attainment. *They should be the creed of our political faith*, the text of civic instruction, the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust: and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps, and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty and safety."

It is because Democrats believe every one of those fundamental principles to be true, that they are Democrats.

CHAPTER V.

PRINCIPLES OF THE GREAT LEADERS CONTINUED—MADISON AND JACKSON.

MADISON "THE FATHER OF THE CONSTITUTION"—STUDENT OF FREE GOVERNMENTS—ECHOES THE SENTIMENTS OF HIS PREDECESSORS—SEVENTEEN PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY—A COMPREHENSIVE AXIOM OF FREEDOM—ANDREW JACKSON "THE PRIDE OF DEMOCRACY"—EIGHT YEARS OF JEALOUS DEVOTION TO THE DEMOCRATIC CAUSE—JACKSON'S POLITICAL CREED.

DEMOCRATS believe in a full, unequivocal, and hearty support of the Constitution, in a strict construction of it, and in the spirit and the purpose for for which it was formed, and in Madison, also, who took such a deep interest in its formation, as to be called "the Father of the Constitution," they have another exponent of sound Democratic principles.

He knew well the principles on which that constitution was founded. He had studied the rise, progress, decay and fall of every free government which had gone before, and profiting by the very misfortunes of other nations, he had secured in the adoption of our Constitution, such principles as he fondly believed would prevent us as a people from falling into similar errors. Standing upon the

threshold of his great office, as President of the United States, succeeding Jefferson, he announced the following as additional principles, vital to the welfare of the American people, in their intercourse with foreign nations. They were in part but the echoes, of what came from the lips of Washington and Jefferson, and became the policy of the Democratic party ever since. He announced them as follows:

1. To cherish peace and friendly intercourse with all nations having a corresponding disposition.

2. To maintain sincere neutrality towards belligerent nations.

3. To prefer, in all cases, amicable discussions and reasonable accommodation of differences, to a decision of them by an appeal to arms.

4. To exclude foreign intrigues, and foreign partialties, so degrading to all countries, and so baneful to free ones.

5. To foster a spirit of independence, too just to invade the rights of others, too proud to surrender our own; too liberal to indulge unworthy prejudices ourselves, and not too elevated to look down upon them in others.

6. To hold the Union of the States as the basis of their peace and happiness.

7. To support the Constitution which is the cement of the Union, *as well in its limitations as in its authorities.*

8. To respect the rights and authorities reserved to the states and the people, as equally incorporated with and essential to the success of the general system.

9. To avoid the slightest interferences with the rights of conscience or the functions of religion, so wisely exempted from civil jurisdiction.

10. To preserve in their full energy the salutary provisions in behalf of private and personal rights, and the freedom of the press.

11. To observe economy in public expenditures.

12. To liberate public resources by an honorable discharge of the public debts.

13. To keep within the requisite limits a standing military force—always remembering, that an armed and trained militia is the firmest bulwark of republics.

14. That without standing armies their liberties can never be in danger, nor with large ones, safe.

15. To promote by authorized means improvements friendly to agriculture, to commerce, to manufactures, and to external as well as internal commerce.

16. To favor in like manner the advancement of science and the diffusion of information, as the best aliment of true liberty.

17. To carry on benevolent plans for the conversion of our aboriginal neighbors from the degradation and wretchedness of savage life, to a participation of the improvements of which the human

mind and manners are susceptible in a civilized state.

In one of his messages he also laid down the principle, that a well-instructed people alone can be permanently free.

In the principles of Andrew Jackson the Democracy take great pride. From his Inaugural address on March 4th, 1829, to the close of his administration of eight years, in every message to Congress he uttered Democratic sentiments in a terse, vigorous style, which, on account of their self-evident truth deeply rooted themselves in American hearts, and became the principles of the Democratic party, which, during his administration first took that name, and which it has held ever since. They are found scattered all through his messages, and were his guide in deciding all questions of national policy, so many of which pressed themselves upon him during his term of office. From these the following may be selected and placed in order, which should be thoroughly studied and applied to all questions which may even now arise.

1. He said: "*Regard should be had for the rights of the several States, taking care not to confound the powers reserved to them, with those they had in the Constitution granted to the general government.*"

2. In every aspect of the case, advantage must result from strict and faithful economy in the administration of public affairs.

3. He declared the unnecessary duration of the public debt incompatible with real independence.

4. In the adjustment of a tariff for revenue, he insisted that a spirit of equity, caution and compromise requires the great interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce to be equally favored.

5. He admitted the policy of internal improvements to be wise only, in so far as they could be promoted by constitutional acts of the general government.

6. He declared standing armies to be dangerous to free government, and that the military should be in strict subordination to the civil power.

7. He declared the National Militia to be the bulwark of our national defence. In enforcing this principle he declared that, so long as the government was administered for the good of the people, and regulated by their will—so long as it secured to the people the rights of person and of property, liberty of conscience and of the press, the government would be worth defending, and so long as it was worth defending, the patriotic militia would cover it with an impenetrable *ægis*.

8. He pledged himself to the work of reform in the administration, so that the patronage of the general government which had been brought into conflict with the freedom of elections, and had disturbed the rightful course of appointments, by continuing in power unfaithful and incompetent servants, should no longer be used for that purpose.

9. He declared his belief in the principle, that the integrity and zeal of public officers would advance the interests of the public service more than mere numbers.

10. He declared the right of the *people* to elect a President, and that it was never designed that their choice should in any case be defeated by the intervention of agents; enforcing this principle by saying what experience had amply proved, that in proportion as agents were multiplied to execute the will of the people, there was the danger increased, that their wishes would be frustrated. Some *may be* unfaithful—all liable to err. So far then as the people were concerned, it was better for them to express their own will.

11. The *majority* should govern. No President elected by a minority could so successfully discharge his duties, as he who knew he was supported by the majority of the people.

12. He advocated *rotation in office.* Corruption, he said, would spring up among those in power, and therefore he thought appointments should not be made for a longer period than four years. Every body had equal right to office, and he favored removals as a leading principle, which would give healthful action to the political system.

13. He advocated unfettered commerce, free from restrictive tariff laws, leaving it to flow into those natural channels in which individual enter-

prise, always the surest and safest guide, might direct it.

14. He opposed specific tariffs, because subject to frequent changes, generally produced by selfish motives, and under such influences, could never be just and equal.

15. The proper fostering of manufactures and commerce tended to increase the value of agricultural products.

16. In cases of real doubt, as to matters of mere public policy, he advocated a direct appeal to the people, the source of all power, as the most sacred of all obligations, and the wisest and most safe course to pursue.

17. He advocated a just and equitable bankrupt law, as beneficial to the country at large, because after the means to discharge debts had entirely been exhausted, not to discharge them, only served to dispirit the debtor, sink him into a state of apathy, make him a useless drone in society, or a vicious member of it, if not a feeling witness of the rigor and inhumanity of his country. Oppressive debt being the bane of enterprise, it should be the care of the republic not to exert a grinding power over misfortune and poverty.

18. He declared in favor of the principle, that no money should be expended, until first appropriated for the purpose by the legislature. The people paid the taxes, and their direct representatives should alone have the right to say what they should be

taxed for, in what sums, and how, and when it should be paid.

19. He utterly opposed the system of government aiding private corporations in making internal improvements. It was deceptive and conducive of improvidence in the expenditure of public monies. For this purpose appropriations could be obtained with greater facilities, granted with inadequate security, and frequently complicated the administration of government.

20. The operations of the general government should be strictly confined to the few simple, but important objects for which it was originally designed.

21. He favored the veto power in the executive, *but only* to be exercised in cases of attempted violation of the Constitution, or in cases next to it in importance.

22. He advocated State rights, as far as consistent with the rightful action of the general government, as the very best means of preserving harmony between them; and pronounced this the true faith, and the one to which might be mainly attributed the success of the entire system, and to which alone we must look for stability in it.

23. He advocated "a uniform and sound currency," but doubted the constitutionalty and expediency of a national bank; and afterwards made his administration famous by successfully opposing the renewal of its charter.

24. Precious metals as the only currency known to the constitution. Their peculiar properties rendered them the standard of values in other countries and had been adopted in this. The experience of the evils of paper money, had made it so obnoxious in the past, that the framers of the constitution had forbidden its adoption as the legal tender currency of the country.

Variableness must ever be the characteristic of a currency not based upon those metals. Expansion and contraction, without regard to principles which regulate the value of those metals, as a standard in the general trade of the world were, he said, extremely pernicious.

Where these properties are not infused into the circulation, and do not control it, prices must vary according to the tide of the issue; the value and stability of property exposed, uncertainty attending the administration of institutions, constantly liable to temptations of an interest distinct from that of the community at large, all this attended by loss to the laboring class, who have neither time nor opportunity to watch the ebb and flow of the money market.

25. He renews his advocacy of a cheerful compliance with the will of the majority; *and the exercise of the power as expressed in a spirit of moderation, justice and brotherly kindness, as the best means to cement, and forever preserve the Union* - Those, he closes, who advocate sentiments adverse

to those expressed, however honest, are in effect, the worst enemies of their country.

These are principles as enunciated by eminent statesmen of the Democratic party, and almost universally quoted as sound Democratic doctrines. In fact they are absolutely received as such. Our attention will now be directed to the principles, as declared by Democratic National Conventions, which are, of course, binding upon all loyal members of the Democratic party.

CHAPTER VI.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS, 1800–1836–1840.

THE PLATFORM ON WHICH THOMAS JEFFERSON WAS ELECTED—MARTIN VAN BUREN, DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE—PLATFORM OF 1836—PLATFORM OF THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION, MAY 5TH, 1840.

THERE is no record of political platforms previous to the year A. D. 1800. In that year, at a Congressional caucus held, the following platform was adopted, upon which Thomas Jefferson was elected President, in opposition to John Adams:

1. An inviolable preservation of the Federal Constitution according to the true sense in which it was adopted by the States, that in which it was advocated by its friends, and not that its enemies apprehended, who therefore became its enemies.

2. Opposition to monarchizing its features by the forms of its administration, with a view to conciliate a transition, first to a President and Senate for life, and secondly, to a hereditary tenure of those offices, and thus to worm out the elective principle.

3. Preservation to the States of the powers not yielded by them to the Union, and to the Legislature of the Union its constitutional share in division

of powers; and resistance, therefore, to existing movements for transferring all the powers of the States to the general government, and all of those of that government to the executive branch.

4. A rigorous, frugal administration of the government, and the application of all the possible savings of the public revenue to the liquidation of the public debt; and resistance, therefore, to all measures looking to a multiplication of officers and salaries merely to create partisans, and to augment the public debt on the principle of *its being a public blessing.*

5. Reliance for internal defence solely upon the militia till actual invasion; and for such naval force only as may be sufficient to protect our coasts and harbors from depredations; and opposition, therefore, to the policy of a standing army in time of peace, which may overawe the public sentiment, and to a navy, which by its own expenses and the wars in which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burdens, and sink us under them.

6. Free commerce with all nations; political connection with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment.

7. Opposition to linking ourselves by new treaties with the quarrels of Europe, entering their fields of slaughter to preserve their balance, or joining in the confederacy of kings to war against the principles of liberty.

8. Freedom of religion and opposition to all

maneuvers to bring about a legal establishment of one sect over another.

9. Freedom of speech and of the press; and opposition, therefore, to all violations of the constitution, to silence by force and not by reason the complaints of criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their public agents.

10. Liberal naturalization laws under which the well disposed of all nations who may desire to embark their fortunes with us and share with us the public burdens, may have that opportunity under moderate restrictions, for the development of honest intention, and severe ones to guard against the usurpation of our flag.

11. Encouragement of science and the arts in all their branches, to the end that the American people may perfect their independence of all foreign monopolies, institutions and influences.

Upon the foregoing platform Thomas Jefferson was elected President, over John Adams, the Federal candidate.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1836.—From the time that Thomas Jefferson was elected President, down to January, A. D. 1836, when Martin Van Buren became the Democratic candidate, we find no formal declaration of principles by the party, as announced by Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson, stated in another part of this volume, in their messages to Congress, forming the leading tenets

of the party, and to which, afterwards, frequent allusions are made in the declarations of principles by the Democratic party.

In January, A. D. 1836, the following platform of principles was put forth by the party:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that the true foundation of Republican Government is the equal rights of every citizen in his person and property and in their management; that the idea is quite unfounded that on entering into society we give up our natural right; that the rightful power of all legislation is to declare and enforce only our natural right to commit aggressions on the equal rights of another, and this is all from which the law ought to restrain him; that every man is under the natural duty of contributing to the necessities of society, and this is all the law should enforce on him; that when the laws have declared and enforced all this, they have fulfilled their functions.

We declare unqualified hostility to bank notes and paper money as a circulating medium,* because gold and silver is the only safe and constitutional currency; opposition to any and all monopolies by

* This had reference to the issue of paper money by irresponsible private corporations.

legislation, because they are violations of equal rights of the people; hostility to the dangerous and unconstitutional creation of vested rights or prerogatives by legislation, because they are usurpations of the peoples' sovereign rights; no legislative or other authority in the body politic can rightfully by charter or otherwise, exempt any man or body of men in any case whatever from trial by jury, and the jurisdiction or operation of the laws which govern the community.

We hold that each and every law or act of incorporation passed by preceding legislatures can be rightfully altered and repealed by their successors, and that they should be altered or repealed when necessary for the public good, or when required by a majority of the people.

PLATFORM OF 1840. — On May 5th, 1840, the following platform was adopted by the Democracy, in convention assembled at Baltimore:

1. RESOLVED, That the Federal Government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power shown therein, ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. That the Constitution does not confer upon the General Government the power to commence

and carry on a general system of internal improvements.

3. That the Constitution does not confer authority upon the Federal Government directly or indirectly, to assume the debts of the several states contracted for local internal improvements or other state purposes, nor would such an assumption be just or expedient.

4. That justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of persons and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

5. That it is the duty of every branch of government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that *no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government.*

6. That Congress has no power to charter a United States bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our Republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the

control of a concentrated money power, and above the laws and the will of the people.

7. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States; and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts by Abolitionists or others made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanence of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.

8. That the separation of the monies of the government from banking institutions, is indispensible for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

9. That the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours a land of liberty, and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, and every attempt to abridge the present priviliges of becoming citizens and the owners of soil amongst us, ought to be resisted with

the same spirit which swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute book.

[Here follow several resolutions as to a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, not necessary to insert. —ED.]

CHAPTER VII.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS, 1844–1848–1852–1856.

1844 — RESOLUTIONS ADDITIONAL TO PLATFORM OF 1840 — BALTIMORE PLATFORM, MAY 22, 1848—BALTIMORE PLATFORM, JUNE 1, 1852—CINCINNATI PLATFORM, JUNE, 1856.

THE entire platform of A. D. 1840 was affirmed, to which were added the following resolutions:

10. That the proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to national objects, specified in the Constitution, and we are opposed to the laws lately adopted, and to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the states, as alike inexpedient in policy, and repugnant to the constitution.

11. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interest, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has thrice saved the American people from corrupt and tyrannical domination of the Bank of the United States.

12. That our title to the whole of the territory of

Oregon is clear and unquestionable: that no portion thereof ought to be ceded to England, or any other power, and that the re-occupation of Oregon, and the re-annexation of Texas, at the earliest practical period, are great American measures, which this convention recommends to the cordial support of the Democracy of the Union

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1848—BALTIMORE, MAY 22.

1. That the American Democracy place their trust in the intelligence, the patriotism, and the discrimination of the American people.

2. That we regard this as a distinctive feature of our political creed, which we are proud to maintain before the world, as the great moral element in a form of government springing from and upheld by the popular will; and contrast it with the creed and practice of federalism, under whatever name or form, which seeks to palsy the will of the constituent, and which conceives no imposture too monstrous for the popular credulity.

3. That entertaining these views, the Democratic party of the Union, through the delegates assembled in General Convention of the States, coming together in a spirit of concord, of devotion to the doctrines and faith of a free representative government, and appealing to their fellow citizens, for the rectitude of their intentions, renew and re-assert, before the American people. the declaration of principles avowed by them on a former occasion, when,

in general convention, they presented their candidates for the popular suffrage.

[Here resolutions No 1, 2, 3 and 4 of the platform of A. D. 1840, were reaffirmed.]

8. That it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and *that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government, and for the gradual but certain extinction of the debt created by the prosecution of a just and necessary war,* [a resolution of which the author takes occasion to remark, by way of parenthesis, could not well be improved to meet the exegencies of the present day.]

Resolutions numbers seven, eight and nine of the platform of A. D. 1840 were here inserted, which it is unnecessary here to repeat, after which the platform proceeds to resolve as follows:

13. The proceeds of the public lands ought to be sacredly applied to the national objects specified in the Constitution; and that we are opposed to any law for the distribution of such proceeds among the states as alike inexpedient in policy, and repugnant to the Constitution.

14. That we are decidedly opposed to taking from the President the qualified veto power, by which he is enabled, under restrictions and responsibilities amply sufficient to guard the public interests, to suspend the passage of a bill whose merits

cannot secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, until the judgment of the people can be obtained thereon, and which has saved the American people from the corrupt and tyrannical domination of the bank of the United States, and from a corrupting system of general internal improvements.

15. This resolution was a simple justification of the Mexican war, and announced no distinctive principle of the party; and so the sixteenth and seventeenth were resolutions of congratulations upon the results of the war, and the duty of the government toward the brave soldiers who so bravely did their duty in the service of their country during that war.

The eighteenth resolution extended congratulations to the national convention of the Republic of France, and their best wishes for the success of free government to the people of France, but enunciates no new principle of the Democratic party properly within the scope of this work, and consequently here omitted. The only principle reiterated is that, *the inherent and inalienable rights of the people, in their sovereign capacity to make and to amend their forms of government in such manner as the welfare of the community may require.*

The platform proceeds to declare:

That in view of the recent development of this grand political truth of the sovereignty of the people, and their capacity and power of self-govern-

ment, which is prostrating thrones, and erecting republics on the ruins of despotism in the old world, we feel that a high and sacred duty is devolved with increased responsibility, upon the Democratic party of this country, *as the party of the people*, to sustain and advance among us constitutional liberty, equality and fraternity, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence to those principles and compromises of the constitution, which are broad enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold *the Union as it was, the Union as it is, and the Union as it shall be*, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people.

The remainder of the platform of A. D. 1848, was merely laudatory of the administration of President Polk, expressive of confidence in his capacity, firmness and integrity, and congratulations upon the success of his administration.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1852.—BALTIMORE, JUNE 1.—This platform is but a repetition of the first nine planks of that of A. D. 1848, and then proceeds as follows:

10. That the separation of the monies of the government from banking institutions is indespensible for the safety of the funds of the government and the rights of the people.

11. That the liberal principles embodied by Jef-

ferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty, and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith; and every attempt to abridge the privilege of becoming citizens, and the owners of the soil among us, ought to be resisted with the same spirit that swept the alien and sedition laws from our statute books.

12. That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; and that all efforts . . . made to induce Congress to interfere with such questions . . are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

The remainder of the resolution in the platform of A. D. 1852, is but a repetition of others already given, or relates to temporary questions not within the scope of this work, and therefore omitted

PLATFORM OF 1856—JUNE 6.—The platform of A. D. 1856, adopted at Cincinnati, June 6th of that year, is the most comprehensive of any that had

preceded it, embracing all the leading resolutions adopted and promulgated by the Democratic party for more than fifty years previous thereto, and are already stated in the previous platforms given in this work, and therefore unnecessary to be here again repeated, but as the old Whig party had within the previous four years substantially been dissolved, and the so-called American, or Know Nothing party had been organized in its place, raising new questions and issues, the convention to meet those, added the following resolutions to the platform, and this it did in the following language:

"*Whereas:* Since the foregoing declaration was uniformly adopted by our predecessors in National Conventions, an adverse political and religious test has been secretly organized by a party claiming to be exclusively American, and it is proper that the American Democracy should clearly define its relations thereto, and declare its determined opposition to all secret political societies, by whatever name they may be called, therefore the convention resolved,

That the foundation of this Union of States having been laid in, and its prosperity, expansion and pre-eminent example in free government built upon entire freedom of religious concernment, and no respect of persons in regard to rank or place of birth, no party can justly be deemed to be National, Constitutional, or in accordance with American principles, which bases its exclusive organization

upon religious grounds and accidental birth-place; and hence a political crusade in the Nineteenth Century, and in the United States of America, against Catholics and foreign-born, is neither justified by the past history or future prospects of the country, nor in unison with that spirit of toleration and enlightened freedom which peculiarly distingishes the American system of popular government."

Here follow several resolutions to be found in the platform of A. D. 1852, on the subject of slavery, and leaving that position as fixed and settled upon the basis of non-interference by Congress in the domestic institutions of a State. In order to meet distinctly the issue on which a sectional party had arisen, subsisting alone upon slavery agitation, the Convention adopted the following additional resolutions:

1. That claiming fellowship with, and desiring the co-operation of all who regard the preservation of the Union under the Constitution as the paramount issue, and repudiating all sectional parties and platforms concerning domestic slavery which seek to embroil the States and incite to treason and armed resistance to law in the Territories, and whose avowed purpose if consummated, must end in civil war and disunion, the American Democracy recognize and adopt the principles contained in the organic laws establishing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, as embodying the only sound and

safe solution of the slavery question upon which the great national idea of the people of this whole country can repose in its determined conservation of the Union, and non-interference of Congress with slavery in the Territories, or in the District of Columbia.

2. That this was the basis of the compromise of 1850, confirmed by both the Democratic and Whig parties in National Conventions, ratified by the people in the elections of 1852, and rightly applied to the organization of the Territories in A. D. 1854.

3. That by the uniform application of the Democratic principle to the organization of Territories and the admission of new States with or without domestic slavery as they may elect, the equal rights of all the States will be preserved intact, the original compacts of the Constitution maintained inviolate, and the perpetuity and expansion of the Union insured to its utmost capacity of embracing in peace and harmony every future American State that may be constituted or annexed, with a Republican form of government.

That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories * * acting through the legally and fairly expressed will of the majority of the actual residents, and whenever the number of inhabitants justifies it, to form a Constitution, with or without domestic slavery, and be admitted into the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States."

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selves in favor of free seas, and progressive free trade throughout the world, and by solemn manifestations to place their moral influence at the side of their successful example.

That our geographical and political position with reference to other States of this continent no less than the interest of our commerce and development of our growing power, requires that we should hold sacred the principles involved in the Monroe doctrine. Their bearing and import admit of no misconstruction, and should be applied with unbending rigidity.

That the great highway which nature as well as the assent of the States most immediately interested in its maintenance, has marked out for free communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, constitutes one of the most important achievements realized by the spirit of modern times, in the unconquerable energy of our people, and that result would be secured by a timely and efficient exertion of the control which we have the right to claim over it; and no power on earth should be suffered to impede or clog its progress by any interference with relations that may suit our policy to establish between our government and the governments of the States within whose dominion it lies; we can under no circumstances surrender our preponderance in the adjustment of all questions arising out of it.

That in view of so commanding an interest, the

people of the United States cannot but sympathize with the efforts which are being made by the people of Central America to regenerate that portion of the continent which covers the passage across the inter-oceanic isthmus.

That the Democratic party will expect of the next administration, that every proper effort will be made to insure our ascendancy in the Gulf of Mexico, and to maintain permanent protection to the great outlets through which are emptied into its waters the products raised out of the soil, and the commodities created by the industry of the people of our Western valleys, and of the Union at large.

CHAPTER VIII.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS, 1860-1864.

CONVENTION AT CHARLESTON, APRIL 23, 1860—DIVISION IN THE CONVENTION—HON B. F. BUTLER—RESOLUTIONS OF THE MINORITY—CHICAGO CONVENTION, AUG. 29, 1864—RESOLUTIONS—PACIFIC RAILROAD—ACQUISITION OF CUBA.

THAT we, the Democracy of the Union, in convention assembled, hereby declare our affirmance of the resolutions unanimously adopted and declared as a platform of principles by the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati in the year A.D. 1856, believing that Democratic principles are unchangeable in their nature when applied to the same subject matters; and we recommend, as further resolutions, the following:

Inasmuch as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duty of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the territories.

2. That the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of Constitutional law.

3. That it is the duty of the United States to afford ample and complete protection to all its citizens, whether at home or abroad, and whether native or foreign.

4. That one of the necessities of the age, in a military, commercial and postal point of view, is speedy communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States; and the Democratic party pledge such constitutional aid as will insure the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Coast, at the earliest practicable period.

5. That the Democratic party are in favor of the acquisition of the Island of Cuba, on such terms as shall be honorable to ourselves, and just to Spain.

Here a resolution was adopted, temporary in character, and the platform was closed by the following resolution:

7. That it is in accordance with the true interpretation of the Cincinnati platform, that, during the existence of the territorial governments, the measure of restriction, whatever it may be, imposed by the Federal Constitution on the power of the territorial legislature, over the subject of domestic relations, as the same has been, or shall hereafter be, finally determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, shall be respected by all good citizens and enforced with promptness and fidelity by every branch of the general government.

A portion of the convention seceded from the remainder, and organized in another hall, over which

Hon. B. F. Butler, of Mass., presided, adopted the following resolutions on the subjects, in controversy, viz.:

1. That the government of a territory, organized by an act of Congress is provisional and temporary, and during its existence, all citizens of the United States, have an equal right to settle, with their property, in the territory, without their rights, either of person or property, being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or territorial legislation.

2. That it is the duty of the Federal government, in all its departments, to protect when necessary the rights of persons and properties in the territories, and wherever else its Constitutional authority extends.

3. That when the settlers in a territory having an adequate population form a state constitution in pursuance of law, the right of sovereignty commences, and being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States, and the State thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union whether its Constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery.

These three last stated resolutions, compared with the resolution number seven (7) preceding them, shows the difference in the party concerning the subject of permitting or prohibiting slavery in the territories of the United States.

The rebellion having resulted in the abolition of slavery, the principles were never required to be applied, and there the contest ended. It may, however, be stated as an historical fact, that Congress has ever since claimed to have more or less authority over territories, until a State Constitution has been formed, and the State admitted into the Union.

The foregoing resolutions, however, clearly show the view of the Democracy on the subject of the relation of territories to the Union.

PLATFORM OF 1864—CHICAGO, AUGUST 29.—That in the future, as in the past, we will adhere with unswerving fidelity to the Union, under the Constitution, as the only solid foundation of our strength, security and happiness as a people, and as a framework of government equally conducive to the welfare and prosperity of all the States, both Northern and Southern.

That this Convention does explicity declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which under the pretense of a military necessity of a war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right, alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of

hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of all the States."

In regard to this resolution it should be remarked, that it has so often been mis-quoted by the opponents of the Democratic party, asserting that the resolution declared the war itself a failure, that many, doubtless, still believe it. Nothing was farther from the truth. The war was *not* a failure, nor was it so declared; but the resolution did declare the opinion that after four years of failure to restore the Union by war, *some* efforts should be made to restore it by peace. The war itself was a brilliant success, but great as it was, something more was necessary to restore the Union, and so dear to the hearts of Democrats was that old Union of States, that they were willing to try every possible effort to succeed in their desires. War had been tried—hundreds and thousands of precious lives had been sacrificed, millions upon millions of money had been spent—and the Democracy desired to supplement the glorious deeds of the soldier, by the wise and calm action of the statesman.

They desired to show to those who had gone into rebellion that they desired them to return to their allegiance, and meet once more around a common altar, as it were, to do by wise statesmanship what war had thus far failed to accomplish. These

and other arguments had their desired effect. President Lincoln, after his re-election did make such overtures to the rebel authorities, and if nothing more was accomplished, it showed the people that peaceable means would be used to restore the Union, and if these should fail, they would continue to resort to arms with increased vigor, until such time as the voice of reason and of peace could be heard. True it was, that men and States which claimed to be Democratic went into rebellion against the government of our Fathers, but the same is true of those in the South who had opposed the Democracy during the best years of their lives, so that one is equally to blame with the other; but the teachings, and principles, and traditions of the Democratic party were never opposed to the Union. It is a foul slander upon the party and upon the memory of its best and greatest men; and no one, not a demagogue, or a mere politician, dishonest, and intending to deceive, or totally ignorant of the real facts, should ever think of making so grave and groundless a charge."

The next resolution declared:

2 That the direct interference of the military authority of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the Constitution; and the repetition of such acts in the approaching election will be held as revolutionary,

and resisted with all the means and power under our control."

Next comes a resolution clearly defining the aim and object of the Democratic party during the war for the suppression of the Southern rebellion, which is as follows:

3. That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union, and the rights of the States unimpaired; and they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of the civil by the military law in the States not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment trial and sentence of American citizens in states where civil law existed in full force, the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of state rights, the employment of unusual test oaths, and the interference with, and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense, as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union, and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

4. That the shameful disregard of the administration to its duty, in respect to our fellow citizens who now are, and long have been, prisoners of war, in a suffering condition, deserves the severest reprobation, on the score alike of public policy and common humanity.

5. That the sympathy of the Democratic party is heartily and earnestly extended to the soldiery of our army, and the sailors of our navy, who are or have been in the field, and on the sea under the flag of their country; and, in the event of our attaining power, they will receive all the care, and protection regard and kindness that the brave soldiers of the Republic have so nobly earned."

This was the platform of the Democracy during the war, and have they not faithfully carried out their pledges and avowed purposes ever since? Has a soldier ever suffered any diminution of his pensions, because they have term after term held the popular branch of Congress in their hands; if anything, have they not exceeded in generosity towards the soldiers and sailors of the Union army, those of their opponents, though sometimes a majority of their members of Congress came from the States once in rebellion? Let the history of legislation in this particular, furnish a complete refutation of the charge, that they have been in any sense the enemy of the soldiers for the Union.

CHAPTER IX.

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1868.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, NEW YORK, JULY 4TH, 1868 —RESOLUTIONS IN RELATION TO THE CONDITION OF AFFAIRS AT THE CLOSE OF THE WAR—ARRAIGNMENT OF THE RADICAL PARTY — PRESIDENT JOHNSON COMMENDED — CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE AND THE TRIAL OF IMPEACHMENT.

"THE Democratic party in National Convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the government and the guarantees of the liberties of the citizen, and recognizing that the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled for all time to come by the war or voluntary action of the Southern States in Constitutional Conventions assembled, and never to be revived or re-agitated, do, with the return of peace, demand,

1. Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union under the Constitution, and of Civil Government to the American people.

2. Amnesty for all past political offences, and

the regulation of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens.

3. Payment of all public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable—all money drawn from the people by taxation, except so much as is requisite for the necessities of the Government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment; and where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face, or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

4. Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including government bonds and other public securities.

5. One currency for the Government and the people, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.

6. Economy in the administration of the Government, the reduction of the standing army and the navy, the abolition of the Freedman's Bureau, and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy; simplification of the system and discontinuance of inquisitorial modes of assessing and collecting internal revenue; that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened, and the credit of the Government and the currency made good; the repealing of all enactments for enrolling the State militia into National forces in time of

peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports; and such equal taxation under the internal revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and, as will without impairing the revenue, impose the least burdens upon, and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

7. Reform of abuses in the administration, the expulsion of corrupt men from office, the abrogation of useless offices; the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of the executive and judicial departments of the Government; the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.

8. Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home or abroad; the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers, and furnish an ample encouragement to people struggling for national integrity; Constitutional liberty, and individual rights, and the maintainance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrines of immutable allegiance, and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crimes beyond their jurisdiction.

In demanding these measures and reforms, we arraign the Radical party for its disregard of right, and the unparalelled oppression and tyranny which

have marked its career. After the most solemn and unanimous pledges of both houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintainance of the Government, and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it has repeatedly violated the most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union it has so far as in its power dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified there the right of trial by jury, it has abolished the *habeas corpus*, that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures and arrests, and military trials, and secret star-chamber inquisitions for the Constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded in time of peace the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters without any specific charge or notice of affidavit as required by the organic law. It has converted the American Capitol into a bastile; it has established a system of spies and official espoinage, to which no Constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort; it has abolished the right of appeal, on important Constitutional questions, to the supreme judicial tribunal, and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdistion

which is irrevocably vested by the Constitution; while the learned Chief Justice has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President.

Its corruptions and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history; and, by its frauds and monopolies, it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the President of his Constitutional power of appointment, even of his own Cabinet. Under its repeated assaults, the pillars of the government are rocking on their base; and should it succeed in November next, and inaugurate its President, he will meet a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and scattered fragments of the Constitution.

And we do declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British Crown, the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several states, and have been granted, regulated and controlled exclusively by the political power of each state respectively; and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any state of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution, and, if sanctioned by the people, will subvert our form of government, and can only end in a single, centralized, and consolidated government, in

which the separate existence of the states, will be entirely absorbed, and an unqualified despotism be established in place of a Federal union of co-equal states. And that we regard the re-construction acts —so called—of Congress as usurpations, unconstitutional, revolutionary and void.

That our soldiers and sailors, who carried the flag of our country to victory, against the most gallant and determined foe, must ever be gratefully remembered, and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the pre-emption of homestead lands, or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants at the minimum price established by the government. When grants of public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves, should be so applied."

The next resolution was one simply commending President Johnson for the many contests he made while President in behalf of Constitutional government.

The remaining resolutions were three only, the first inviting men of all political parties to unite with the Democracy in the struggle for the liberties of the people; sympathy with the workingmen; and thanking Chief Justice Chase for the manner in

which he presided so impartially over the court of impeachment on the trial of President Andrew Johnson.

While the Democracy did not win the succeeding election, the discussion of the questions raised, and the arraignment made against the proceedings of the so-called Radical Republican party, did very much in finally restoring to the people many of their rights which the Democracy claimed were gross usurpations of power, and flagrantly unconstitutional; and in every instance, in cases where the parties sought relief in the courts, the position of the Democracy was sustained, by the United States courts.

CHAPTER X.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS, 1872–1876.

BALTIMORE CONVENTION OF JULY 9TH, 1872, ENDORSES THE PLATFORM OF LIBERAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION HELD IN CINCINNATI, MAY 1ST, 1872—PLATFORM OF ST. LOUIS, MO., CONVENTION, JUNE 27TH, 1876—PLEAS FOR REFORM.

THE Liberal Republicans having met in Convention at Cincinnati, on May 1st, 1872, the Democracy, in their Convention adopted their resolutions as essential to good government. The resolutions which thus became their platform in that Presidential election were as follows·

1. We recognize the equality of all men before the law, and hold that it is the duty of government in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political.

2. We pledge ourselves to maintain the Union of these States, emancipation and enfranchisement, and to oppose any re-opening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution.

3. We demand the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the

rebellion, which was finally subdued seven years ago, believing that universal amnesty will result in complete pacification in all sections of the country.

4. Local self-government with impartial suffrage will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power. The public welfare demands the supremacy of the civil over the military authority, and the freedom of the person under the protecting *habeas corpus*. We demand for the citizen the largest liberty consistent with public order; for the State, self-government; for the nation, a return to the methods of peace, and the Constitutional limitations of power.

5. The civil service of the Government has become a mere instrument of partisan tyranny and personal ambition, and an object of selfish greed. It is a scandal and reproach upon free institutions and breeds a demoralization dangerous to the perpetuity of Republican Government. We, therefore, regard a thorough reform of the civil service as one of the most pressing necessities of the hour—that honesty, capacity and fidelity constitute the only valid claims to public employment; that the offices of the government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage; and that a public station shall again become a post of honor. To this end, it is imperatively demanded that no President shall become a candidate for re-election.

6. We demand a system of Federal taxation which shall not unnecessarily interfere with the in

dustry of the people, and which shall provide the means to pay the expenses of the Government, economically administered, the pensions, the interest on the public debt, and a moderate reduction annually of the principal thereof; and recognizing that there are in our midst honest but irreconcilable differences of opinion with regard to the respective systems of protection and free trade, we remit the discussion of the subject to the people in their congressional districts, and the decision of Congress thereon, wholly free from executive interference or dictation.

7. The public credit must be sacredly maintained, and we denounce repudiation in every form and guise.

8. A speedy return to specie payment is demanded alike by the highest consideration of commercial morality and honest government.

9. We remember with gratitude the heroism and sacrifices of the soldiers and sailors of the Republic, and no act of ours shall ever detract from their justly earned fame, or the full rewards of their patriotism.

10. We are opposed to all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations; the public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers.

11. We hold that it is the duty of the Government in its intercourse with foreign nations, to cultivate the friendship of peace, by treaty with all, on fair and equal terms, regarding it alike dishonor-

able either to demand what is not right, or submit to what is wrong.

12. For the promotion and success of these vital principles, and the support of the candidates nominated by this Convention, we invite and cordially welcome the co-operation of all patriotic citizens, without regard to previous affiliations."

Thus did a very decided and respectable portion of the Republican party secede from their party, and announce a platform so nearly consistent with Democratic principles, that the Democracy adopted it as their own.

PLATFORM OF 1876—ST. LOUIS, MO., JUNE 27.—After declaring that the administration of the Federal government was in urgent need of immediate reform in all its departments, the convention declared as follows:

"For the Democracy of the whole country we do hereby reaffirm our faith in the permanence of the Federal Union, our devotion to the Constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of self government.

In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority—the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; in the

total separation of the church and state, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope—we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history; but while upholding the bond of union, and great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practice also the eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Reform is necessary to rebuild and re-establish in the hearts of the whole people, the union, eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of states, but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which after inflicting upon ten states the rapacity of carpet-bag tyranny, has honey-combed the offices of the Federal government itself with incapacity, waste and fraud; infected states and municipalities with the contagion of misrule; and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of "hard times."

Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor.

We denounce the failure, for all these eleven years of peace, to make good the promise of the legal tender notes, which are a changing standard

of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

We denounce the improvidence which in eleven years of peace, has taken from the people, in Federal taxes, thirteen times the whole amount of the legal-tender notes, and squandered four times their sum in useless expense without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial imbecility and immorality of that party, which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but, instead, has obstructed resumption, by wasting our resources, and exhausting all our surplus income; and while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto, as such hinderance we denounce the resumption clause of 1875, and we demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the Nation, soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment. We believe such a system well devised, and, above all, entrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which ninety-

ive per cent of all business transactions are performed. A system open, public, and inspiring general confidence, would from the day of its adoption bring healing on its wings to all our harrassed ndustries; set in motion the wheels of commerce, nanufactures, and the mechanical arts, restore employment to labor, and renew, in all its natural sources, the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sum and modes of Federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust, and labor lightly burdened.

We denounce the present tariff, levied upon nearly four thousand articles, as a monster piece of injustice, inequality, and false pretence. It yields a dwindling—not a yearly rising revenue—it has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It rohibits imports that might purchase the products f American labor. It has degraded American mmerce from the first to an inferior rank on the gh seas. It has cut down the sales of American anufactures at home and abroad, and depleted the turns of American agriculture—an industry folwed by half our people It costs the people five nes more than it produces to the treasury, obructs the processes of production, and wastes the uit of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuging, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts nest merchants. We demand that all custom-ouse taxation shall be only for revenue.

Reform is necessary in the scale of public ex-

pense—federal, state, and municipal. Our federal taxation has swollen from sixty millions gold, in 1860, to four hundred and fifty millions currency, in 1870; an aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions gold, in 1860, to seven hundred and thirty millions currency, in 1870—or, in one decade, from less than five dollars per head, to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace the people have paid to their tax-gatherers more than thrice the sum of the national debt, and more than twice that sum for the Federal Government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department, and from every officer of the government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands, and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in power, which has squandered 200,000,000 acres upon railroads alone, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

Reform is necessary to correct the omission of Republican Congress, and the errors of our treaties and diplomacy which have stripped our fellow citizens of foreign birthright and kindred race, of crossing the Atlantic, of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact, now by law, denied citizenship through naturalization

as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization, nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German, and tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women, for immoral purposes, and Mongolian men, held to perform servile labor contracts; and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese empire, or such legislation, within Constitutional limitations, as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary, and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it.

1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belongs exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect, or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any.

2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples, once estranged, but now re-united in one indivisible Republic, and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of the public service—President, Vice-Presi-

dent, Judges, Senators, Representatives, Cabinet officers—these and all others in authority are the people's servants. Their officers are not a private perquisite, they are a public trust. When the annals of this Republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as law makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched or enriching friends, by percentages levied on the profits of contractors with his department; an Ambassador to England concerned in dishonorable speculations; the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete, that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties, we get no change of measures and no real reform. All these abuses, wrongs and crimes—the product of sixteen years' ascendancy of the Republican party—create a necessity for reform, confessed by the Republicans

themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the Cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the 80,000 office holders, its leaders and guides.

Reform can only be had by a peaceful civil revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that they may have a change of measures and of men."

The two remaining resolutions were simply commendatory of Congress for curtailing expenses, etc., and pledging the soldiers and sailors, and their families, the protection and gratitude of the people.

CHAPTER XI

THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM OF 1880.

CONVENTION OF JUNE 22ND, 1880, AT CINCINNATI—THE PLATFORMS OF EIGHTY YEARS SHOW THE CONSISTENCY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY—THE ONLY POINT OF DIFFERENCE BEING THE TREATMENT OF THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY IN THE TERRITORIES.

THE Democrats of the United States, in Convention assembled, declare:

First. We pledge ourselves anew to the Constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party, as illustrated by the teachings and examples of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last National Convention of the party.

Second. Opposition to centralization, and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment, which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever form of government, a real despotism; no sumptuary laws; separation of the church and state for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

Third. Home rule; honest money, consisting of gold and silver, and paper convertible into coin on

demand; the strict maintainance of the public faith, state and national, and a tariff for revenue only; the subordination of the military to the civil power; and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

Fourth. The right of a free ballot is a right preservative of all rights; and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

Fifth. The existing administration is the representative of a conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy marshals, to intimidate and obstruct the elections, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power insults the people and imperils their institutions. We execrate the course of this administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crimes, and demand a reform, by statute, which shall make it forever impossible for a defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

Sixth. The great fraud of 1876–77, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, for the first time in American history; the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, and a deadly blow was struck at our system of representative government. The Democratic party, to preserve the country from the horrors of civil war, submitted for the time, in

the firm and patriotic belief that the people would punish the crime in 1880. This issue precedes and dwarfs every other. It imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the consciences of a nation of freemen.

Seventh. The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party, is received by the Democrats of the United States with deep sensibility; and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity unshaken by the assaults of the common enemy; and they further assure him that he is followed into the retirement he has chosen for himself, by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who by elevating the standard of the public morality, and adorning. and purifying the public service, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

Eighth. Free ships, and a living chance for American commerce upon the seas; and on the land no discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations or monopolies.

Ninth. Amendments of the Burlingame treaty; no more Chinese immigration except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded.

Tenth. Public money, and public credit for public purposes solely, and public lands for actual settlers.

Eleventh. The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorants and the commune.

Twelfth. We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress, which has reduced the public expenditures ten millions of dollars a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the national honor abroad; and above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the government as shall insure a genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service."

Thus we have sketched the platforms of the Democratic party for a period of eighty years, in connection with the principles avowed by those eminent Democratic statesmen, who served in the office of President of the United States, before it was the rule to meet in Conventions and nominate candidates, and afterwards when nominations were taken out of the hands of a Congressional Caucus, and referred to a convention of delegates fresh from the people, who, in that capacity, have also declared their principles and purposes.

A perusal of these platforms demonstrates the fact, that the party has been consistent in its principles all the time through these one hundred or

more years. The same fundamental principles of free government have ever been upheld and sustained, and as new questions arose, these have been decided by an application of the same old Democratic principles.

Save in the matter of the treatment of slavery in the territories there has been no radical difference of opinion; and with the abolishment of that, by Constitutional amendments and by conventions of the people of those states, ratifying the same and consenting thereto, that, and all questions growing out of the same, have been, so to speak, adjudged by the party to be settled forever never to be agitated or reopened again; and from thence forward the party has gone on in the advocation of these sound and wholesome principles, without the application of which, they firmly believe, free government cannot be maintained.

These principles commend themselves to the young, who are about to form opinions to guide their future political actions and to all lovers of free government throughout the world. May they find a deep lodgment in the public mind, and continue to be upheld and supported by good men and statesmen everywhere, until their permanency shall be questioned by none.

Under these broad and liberal views, freedom may go on to expand and grow, until not only this whole continent shall be brought under their benign influence; but the oppressed and down-trodden of every

clime and nation upon the globe, shall look to them as the beacon light to guide them also, to a higher and nobler destiny than that which now seems to enshroud them in the gloom of despair. This is the ardent wish and hope of every American Democrat. For these reasons they are Democrats.

CHAPTER XII.

FURTHER PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY—STATE RIGHTS—THE RIGHT OF COERCION.

A QUESTION ON WHICH OPINIONS WERE DIVIDED—ANDREW JACKSON—THE REPUBLICAN THEORY STATED AT THE CHICAGO CONVENTION—A GOVERNMENT NOT A LEAGUE—THE RIGHT OF SECESSION A SOLECISM—BUCHANAN DENIED THE RIGHT OF SECESSION—THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY THE PARTY OF CONCILIATION—THE QUESTION OF COERCION—DEMOCRATS CALLED "DISLOYAL"—HON. JOHN A. LOGAN'S VIEW—THE DEMOCRATS HAVE NO NEED TO BLUSH ON THE QUESTION OF COERCION.

WE HAVE now gone through with a brief statement of the principles of the Democracy, as ascertained from the expressions of leading Democratic statesmen, and the declarations of the party in their National Conventions.

There are still other questions which have become prominent in the councils of the party, which it is deemed necessary to more fully explain and enforce, giving the reasons and circumstances under which they have become settled as Democratic doctrines.

To a very great extent they could have been settled by applying the declarations of prominent leaders, and of the resolutions in Democratic plat-

forms to their solution; but, having, to some extent been the subject of discussion in and outside of the party, we have concluded to give a separate statement of the import of each, together with the reasons upon which founded.

In some instances they assume the character of defences against charges made by the opponents of the party; and in others, as expositions of their views upon particular questions which have, more or less, been the subjects of discussions within the party councils.

They will be treated successively to as full an extent as our limits will permit, and can be equally as strongly relied upon as the fixed and settled conclusions of the party, as evidenced by the utterances of leading members of the party, supported by its platforms and public assemblies, until no longer questioned.

THE PRINCIPLE OF STATE RIGHTS.—The rights of the States under our Federal Constitution has long been a question discussed, on which great differences of opinion have arisen, even within the Democratic party itself. The view held by Andrew Jackson is the one always prevailing in National Conventions—the only body having power to settle the question for the whole party, viz: That the general government is one of expressly *granted* powers, in the exercise of which it is supreme. That these powers, faithfully and vigorously carried out

are necessary to the general welfare of the whole. That all powers not expressly granted in the Constitution to the Federal Government, in the language of that instrument itself, are reserved to the States and to the people.

The Republican party at the time of its organization planted itself upon this doctrine; and in their platform at Chicago, when Abraham Lincoln was first nominated for President, they passed the following resolution:

"*Fourth.* That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our politiçal fabric depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as one of the graves of crimes."

So thoroughly had this Constitutional doctrine engrafted itself upon the public mind—found utterance in both of the great political parties, and in their platforms, that it ought to have been acquiesced in by all.

The National Democratic party still adheres to that idea. It is unalterably fixed in its creed; but has not appeared in the Republican party platform:

from that time down to the present, while the Democracy have re-affirmed the same upon every occasion. Ever since the days of Jackson's administration has the question, in the Democratic party, of the right of secession been settled, so far as the power of a national party convention could settle it. No matter what individual members of the party may have said; no matter what State and District Conventions may have declared on the subject, *the National Convention only, of a national party, can settle national questions;* and, therefore, no matter how frothy orators may "fret and fume, and tear passion into tatters" over a "secession Democracy," the record proves that it never was the doctrine of the National Democratic party.

The Republican party has frequently announced with a great flourish of trumpets, that our Government was not a league, but a nation; but no true Jackson Democrat ever disputed that proposition as he understands its terms. Jackson, in his immortal proclamation, said:

"The Constitution of the United States, then, forms a government, not a league; whether it be formed by compact between the States or otherwise, or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a government in which the *people* are represented, which operates directly on the people individually, not upon the State; *they retain all the power they did not grant.* But each State having expressly parted with so many powers as to con-

stitute jointly with the other States, *a single nation, cannot from that period possess any right to secede,* because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of the nation; and any injury to that unity is not only a breach which would result from the contravention of a contract; but it is an offence against the whole Union. To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States is not a nation; because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other party, to their injury and ruin, without committing any offence. Secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity of oppression; but to call it a Constitutional right is confounding the meaning of terms, and can only be done through gross error, or to deceive those who are willing to assert a right, but would pause before they made a revolution, or incur the penalties consequent on a failure."

Herein is set forth in the plainest terms the principles adhered to by the great Democratic party of the country; and to charge the party with the errors, mistakes, and crimes of those who disregard the teachings of their party is so grossly unjust that it needs no further refutation. It is because the Democracy have through all the past; through years of sectional madness and party strife adhered in conscious integrity to those views, that they have been denounced by enraged sectionalists — Nor

and South—until reason has been again enthroned, and the nation can see where they have stood all these years.

They constitute the only party which has a record upon this question, dating from its first inception to the present moment. Democrats opposed the New England secessionists who held the Hartford convention in the interest of northern nullification and secession; they opposed the South Carolina nullifiers at a later date, and have as a great national organization, opposed the doctrine at all times, under all circumstances, and against all persons, no matter whether they claimed to be Democrats or not. But it may be said, as it frequently has been, unjustly, that when the rebellion was first organized, a Democratic administration did not do its duty to suppress it. President Buchanan, elected by southern as well as northern votes, denied the right of secession. He was a representative Democrat, and he said in his message of December, 1860: "This government is a great and powerful government, invested with all the attributes of sovereignty over the subjects to which its authority extends. Its framers never intended to plant in its bosom the seeds of its own destruction, nor were they guilty of the absurdity of providing for its own dissolution. It was not intended by its framers to be the baseless fabric of a vision, which at the touch of the enchanter, would vanish in thin air; but a substantial

and mighty fabric, capable of resisting the slow decay of time, and defying the storms of ages. . . . In short, let us look the danger- fully in the face; secession is neither more nor less than revolution."

Thus, it will be seen, that at no time, even the most critical, have true national Democrats either in national conventions, or by their chief executives ever countenanced this heresy of secession. There is therefore no reason on this account, why a man should not be a Democrat, because, as such, he is compelled to subscribe to the soundest plank ever put forth by either party in its platforms, on the subject of the relation of the Federal to the State governments. We are Democrats because we believe in the doctrine held by the party on this most important question.

Fanaticism never stops to reason. Driven by honest impulses, it rushes to its object without regard to obstacles. So it was with the secession movement, and so it was with the political abolitionists of the North. Driven on, they ceased not their agitation until the clash of arms came. Slavery went down, and now it becomes the duty of every patriot to repair the injury done by war, and place our institutions on even a more solid foundation than ever before. The disturbing cause is now removed, and it is time for sober reflection and intelligent action, so that we may preserve intact the government our fathers transmitted to us, unimpaired, unchanged, and vigorous as it came from the

hands of its founders. To do this, we conscientiously believe, the great Democratic party of the Union now offers the best means by which this can be done. It reaches out into every section of this great country; it stands united once more upon these grand principles of fraternal union, upon the basis of the Constitution, the just rights of the Federal government undisputedly granted to it, while the reserved rights of the States are equally preserved to them. It is the only national party that can conciliate the angry sections, and make this country what the sages and heroes of the revolution designed it should be, a sisterhood of States, a land of freedom, a home for the oppressed of all lands.

THE RIGHT OF COERCION.—It has been said by some who have but poorly studied the formation of our government, that because Democrats opposed coercion before the rebellion commenced, that therefore it was "a disloyal party," and the word *disloyal* is pronounced as if it was a horrible thing to hold the opinion so ably set forth by the Fathers of the Republic, and by all sound constitutional lawyers and statesmen since then. Andrew Johnson, Senator from Tennessee, then applauded for his opinions, and the candidate of the Republican party for Vice President in 1864, elected by them, and afterwards President of the United States, held these views. He said in the Senate of the United States, on December 18th, 1860: "The Federal gov-

ernment has no power to coerce a state, because by the eleventh amendment of the Constitution of the United States, it is expressly provided that you cannot even put one of those States before the courts of the country as a party. As a State, the Federal Government has no power to coerce it; but each State was a party to the compact to which it agreed with the other States, and this government has the right to pass laws, and *to enforce those laws on individuals*, and it has the right and the power, not to coerce a State, but to enforce and execute the law upon individuals within the limits of a State."

This was the view held by Hon. John A. Logan, and by many who even now are members of the Republican party, and why should it be strange that Democrats announced those doctrines?

They did not deny the duty and power of the Federal Government to enforce its laws at the point of the bayonet, if resisted.

President Buchanan, in his message to Congress on January 8th, A. D. 1861, says:

"The dangerous and hostile attitude of the States toward each other, has already far transcended and cast in the shade the ordinary executive duties already provided for by law, and has assumed such vast and alarming proportions as to place the subject entirely beyond *executive* control. The fact cannot be disguised that we are in the midst of a great revolution. In all its various bearings, therefore, *I commend the question to Congress*, as the one

a tribunal, under Providence, possessing the
to meet the existing emergency. To them,
ively belongs the power to declare war, or to
rize the employment of the military force, in
es contemplated by the Constitution."
gress might then have taken action. The
lican party had the power in both branches of
ess, by reason of the secession of Southern
ors, who left the Republicans in control of the
e, and they had held the House of Representa-
before that event occurred. No person ever
ed the right and duty of Congress to pass
o enable the President to defend the Union
st armed rebellion.
his time the question of coercion had already
l away. The Southern States had seceded
aken forcible possession of public property,
ad, themselves, become the assailants. To
ongress the President appealed to decide the
on; but though the Republicans were in power
h branches, Congress shrank from its duty.
ht have been commendable had it desired to
at the effusion of fraternal blood, and restore
nion. Perhaps that might have been their
; still the duty of the hour confronted it, and
hrunk from it. Had it promptly passed the
enable the President to call forth the militia,
accept the services of volunteers, as Lincoln
hen Congress was *not* in session, it might
ain; but it failed to do so, and is estopped

from charging others with a want of vigor in this respect.

Why, then, charge Democrats with dereliction of duty, when its own chosen party legislative power was then assembled, and failed to do that with which they would now blame the Democracy. It was his duty to enforce the laws—theirs to pass them! Then how absurd to blame others for that which they were guilty of themselves.

This, then, is a brief allusion to the subject of coercion, and the exercise of military power to suppress the rebellion, and there is nothing in it that any Democrat need blush to acknowledge. These charges are only made to divert the mind of the voter from the real questions at issue between the parties, and can furnish no reason whatever, why a man should not be a Democrat after twenty years have passed away, and almost a new generation has come upon the stage of action.

These sound views of the Constitution, and convictions of patriotic duty in those trying days of our national peril, should induce men to rally under the flag of Democracy, and place in power those who have been true to the great principles of free institutions, upon which our government is founded. Men are Democrats because they believe this to be their duty.

CHAPTER XIII.

CARDINAL DOCTRINES OF DEMOCRACY.

THE RIGHT OF PETITION—SHOULD BE JUDICIOUSLY USED—NOT TO BE CONFOUNDED WITH PETITIONS FOR PARDONS—OR FROM THE ARMY—OR THREATS FROM ANGRY MOBS—PUBLIC MEETINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS—THE RIGHT OF PUBLIC MEETING AND ASSOCIATION MUST BE GUARDED—POLITICAL CLUBS OF FRANCE—THE SUPREMACY OF THE LAW—EVERY CITIZEN SUBJECT TO THE LAW AND ONLY TO THE LAW—MARTIAL LAW—"HABEAS CORPUS"—MILITARY SUBSERVIENT TO CIVIL LAW—THE WAR POWER—LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

THE Right of Petition for a redress of grievances, is a right conceded and sanctioned by Democratic principles. That this right has been abused is no argument against its proper use. When it is made the means of insulting legislative bodies, and of merely consuming much valuable time, and merely for political effect, it is not to be commended. Still it may correct many wrongs, and the foundation upon which the right rests is and must ever remain inviolate. The people deprived of this right, would immediately degrade the real sovereign—the people in the eyes of the servant—the representative. It is as necessary a right as that of free speech or a free press. It is a privilege not denied by Deity itself,

and is a right inherent in the people, or wherever the relation of inferior to superior in power exists. How much more proper is it, where the real sovereign has entrusted his authority, for a brief season, to his chosen representative. To petition, in the Democratic sense of the word, is, simply directing those in power, in what their constituents conceive to be, the discharge of their duties. When considered however, in the light of a possibility, that the servant has taken the oath of office, and his supposed superior facility for acquiring necessary information, and his relations to his oath of office, where required to bind his conscience as such, it is of doubtful utility. It is always commendable when resorted to for a redress of grievances, and in such instance is, in accordance with the highest conception of free government. The right of petition here spoken of is, that right of a citizen to petition the law-making power for a redress of his grievances, in cases where he conceives it is his duty to make them known to those who are entrusted for the time being, with the exercise of this proportion of the legislative power. It must not be confounded with that of merely petitioning, by force of numbers, to the executive in case of pardons, which is, in many instances, rather the subversion of the wholesome execution of the law. So also petitions by the army are not favored in free governments. So carefully is this right, and prerogative of the legislator and legislative bodies guarded, that

they must be presented in accordance with the rules of legislative bodies, and must be presented in accordance with the true spirit of the privilege granted. When presented by large bodies, accompanied by physical demonstrations, either of crowds, armed or unarmed, in or outside of legislative halls, they partake of the nature of threats and intimidations, and are therefore subversive, rather than conducive to the well being of a free people. In such instances, the demonstration is contrary to Democratic principles. Legislative and deliberative bodies must be perfectly free.

Democrats therefore should discriminate between the uses, and abuses of this right of petition.

This right, when asserted for its rightfully intended purposes, is a right never to be surrendered. This right, when subverted is annoying, not to say absolutely dangerous. The weakness of men, oftimes induces them to grant their signatures to petitions, rather than refuse, and thus this means of informing legislative bodies, is rather calculated to confuse than to direct. Yet when it is considered, that this sacred right of the people to petition, can in no event do harm, especially when directed to a body of men ordinarily intelligent, and does serve to direct public attention to wrongs and grievances; as well as to support measures, countenance and aid public servants in the support of public duties, it becomes a privilege that can by no means be denied.

PUBLIC MEETINGS AND ASSOCIATIONS.—Democracy favors public meetings and associations. Closely allied to the right of petition is the right of the citizens peaceably to assemble and petition their public servants for a redress of grievances.

These, too, may become dangerous, and laws may be passed to direct and control them, without in anyway infringing upon these rights. Their danger may be seen in the system of clubs in France during the Revolution.

This right of association is at the foundation of the existence of political parties; the assembling of Conventions; the conferences of churches; and societies for the purpose of mental, physical, social, religious, improvement, and many other purposes are of this character.

The principle of association is highly conducive to free government. It is educative, conservative and preservative; as a means of acquiring political knowledge it is scarcely excelled. It tends toward conservatism in government, because all phases of public questions are therein discussed, and it is preservative of the liberties of the people, because it gives the people the opportunity to hear and discuss measures designed for their general welfare.

The Democratic party was the first to break off from the old system of Congressional nominations for President, and to organize a new tribunal—a Convention of the people—to place in nomination candidates.

The organization of a National Convention by the Democracy, led to similar Conventions by all parties, and for all political and civil divisions; until no movement is now carried on successfully unless a meeting of those who sympathize with each other on public, or, in fact, any other class of questions or purposes, is first held to proclaim their purposes, and appoint their committees, by which these organizations are perpetuated and made effective. Strike down this principle, and the American people would soon lose that self-reliance, energy, and power, necessary to the successful administration of public affairs.

It is the spirit of Democracy itself, exemplified; without it free government could not exist.

THE SUPREMACY OF THE LAW. — Every citizen must be subject to the law; that is, he must be subject to nothing else than the law. All exercise of arbitrary or mob law is contrary to Democratic principles. The law must be the only and universal rule of conduct, to which all must bow with equal and proper submission. It must not be an *ex post facto*, law, but published to the world. All must have an opportunity to obey it, and, consequently, must be presumed to have knowledge of it—that is, the law must be made before the case arises to which it is applied. Fairness demands this. There must be no extraordinary courts or government

commissions organized for special cases, or to benefit special parties.

There can be no mere proclamations of executive officers; dictations from mobs, nor as a *unter declara*, "from any people who claim to be alone *the* people, except in their legally organized and organic capacity."

Martial law can, therefore, not be declared, and citizens not subject to military duty, or actually in the military service tried for alleged offences, by virtue of such proclamations, declarations, or orders, "except in cases where rebellion exists."

It is sometimes said this can be done *when* rebellion exists; but according to the Democratic interpretation of the provision, and Democratic principles, martial law can only be properly and justly declared *where* rebellion exists.

When the civil courts are open, and offenders can be tried in the usual way according to the forms of the civil law, there can be no necessity for military courts.

This principle involves the suspension of the great writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and on this point the Constitution of the United States declares that "the privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* shall not be suspended, unless, when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it."

The abverb *when* is here used as to time, instead of *where*, as to place; however, as it is qualified by giving the reasons therefor, viz: when "the public

safety requires it"—and being reasonable to suppose that "public safety" would not require such extreme measures in all parts of the country at the same time, more especially so, where the courts are open and prepared to execute law by the usual civil process, the practice has been in conformity to the rule here laid down, to suspend the writ *only* in such districts of the country as was required to subserve the public welfare.

It may be said that even this provision of the Constitution authorizes arbitrary proceedings, and may be in violation of a Democratic principle; but it must be remembered that another principle here comes to the relief of freemen.

Dr. Francis Leiber, in his work on Civil Liberty, says "that the principle of 'the Supremacy of the Law,' leads to a principle that has never been attempted to be transplanted from soil inhabited by Anglican people, but has been in our system of a thorough government of law, as distinguished from a government of functionaries, and that is this: Every officer, high or low, remains personally answerable to the person affected, for the legality of the act he executes, no matter whether his lawful superior orders it or not. If it be illegal, the person who executes it remains responsible for the act, although the President or a king should have ordered it; or the offending person be a soldier obeying his commander."

This is a stern law, but a sacred Democratic prin-

ciple. A strict government of law cannot dispense with it, and it has worked well. It secures to the fullest extent the rights of the citizen.

THE MILITARY SUBSERVIENT TO THE CIVIL LAW. Governments have it in their power to worry people into submission when the rights of the private citizen is concerned. One of the means resorted to has been, that of quartering soldiers upon disaffected or obnoxious citizens. To guard the citizen against a violation of his rights to a peaceable and quiet home, the following limitation upon government, has been placed in the Constitution of the United States providing that "no soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner prescribed by law."

This safeguard, although justly pointed out, is but a part of the more general one, that the military power of a state must be submissive to the civil authorities. It is a Democratic principle, to jealously guard the rights of the people against the usurpations of the military authorities. Ever since free governments have had an existence, it has been found necessary, in various ways, to prevent the army from becoming independent of the legislative authority. There is no liberty, for one who has been educated in the Democratic school, where there is not a perfect submission of the army to the legislature of the people. For these purposes appro-

priations are made for the army, for only brief periods. The legislature—the popular branch thereof, especially, must have control of the purse of the nation. In no case must they who hold the sword of a people, also control their treasury. The Constitution of the United States, it is true, makes the President Commander in Chief of the army, but he cannot enlist a man, or pay a soldier unless in pursuance of law; and his attempt to do so, would subject him to impeachment by the representatives of the people, and removal from office by the Senate. The importance of this principle, the dependence of the army upon the civil power, cannot be too strongly impressed upon the people. It was one of the grievances alleged against the British Crown in the Declaration of Independence, that it had *attempted* to render the military independent of and superior to, the civil power. Standing armies are always dangerous to civil liberty, because usually depending upon executive power. They infuse into a whole nation a spirit directly opposite to the general spirit of a free people devoted to self-government.

A nation of freemen should stand committed to obedience to law; an army teaches obedience to "orders." Self sustaining law and order ought to pervade a free people; simple *command* rules the army. It makes no difference whether an army is "Democratic" or not. The danger is only so much greater, when the army is a part of the people. No better illustrations can be found of this danger than

in the past history of France. The principle of entire submission of the army to the civil power, is one that should never be lost sight of by a Democratic free people.

THE WAR POWER.—Democracy teaches that the power to declare war must, like the power to raise revenue, remain with the immediate representatives of the people. The executive would be a dangerous repository of this power. If the funds of the people should be alone controlled by them, how much more should both the lives and money be retained.

The people cannot be said to be free when this power is surrendered by them, into other than their own hands. They must fight their own battles; they must furnish the means to carry on the war; and they alone should have the authority to commence hostilities.

"When the executive power has not only the nominal, but the real power of declaring war," says Dr. Leiber, "we cannot speak of civil liberty or self-government;" for that which most essentially affects the people in all their relations, is in that case beyond their control.

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.—Liberty of Conscience —the right to worship as man pleases—is a fundamental Democratic principle. No system of liberty is perfect without this right. Church and state in

a system of Democratic free government are entirely separate. This principle forbids civil government from founding or endowing churches, or demanding a religious qualification for office under such government.

This principle is not hostile to religion; but if one sect, or denomination, or church, could be upheld, another could be persecuted or destroyed. No worship can be interfered with, and none can be established by law. Calamitous consequences might easily follow, if this right were not strictly maintained.

CHAPTER XIV.

PERSONAL LIBERTY—PRIVATE PROPERTY—FREE COMMUNICATIONS.

"EVERY MAN'S HOME HIS CASTLE"—"NO GENERAL WARRANTS SHALL BE ISSUED"—NO EXCESSIVE BAIL—NO POLITICAL OFFENSE—COUNSEL FOR THE ACCUSED—PRIVATE PROPERTY—DEMOCRACY DEMANDS THE FULLEST FREEDOM TO POSSESS AND ENJOY PROPERTY—PUBLIC FUNDS—PUBLICITY OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—FREEDOM OF ELECTIONS—FREE COMMUNCATIONS.

It is impossible to imagine liberty in all its fullness, if the people are not entirely independent. They must not be coerced into measures by executive or military power. Their agents must be free from arrests while in attendance upon legislative assemblies. No influence from without, besides that freely acknowledged justice, fairness and morality must be admitted into their councils. The legislative power must not be dictated to by any power. We must allow no entangling alliances with foreign nations, whereby they may dictate the laws of our own land.

Individual liberty requires strong guarantees, and among these there is none more important than the guarantee of the great *habeas corpus*, whereby any citizen may compel any court to immediately in-

quire into the legality of his arrest, and be restored to liberty if it be found he is illegally held.

That the individual must have guarantees against the repository of power, is one of the elementary principles of Democracy. Thus it is, that we have the maxims, "Every man's house is his castle," "general warrants shall not be issued," and the "writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended."

Every man's house is his castle. No one can enter the same save by the writs of the law. A writer once said, "It may be a straw built hut; the wind may whistle around it; the rain may enter it; but even the king, the government may not."

It is a bold declaration against a mere police government; and an acknowledgment of individual security, as opposed to governmental power, which dignifies this guarantee.

No general warrants shall issue. The Constitution declares "no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized." This directly opposes police searches and seizures, which must be done only in pursuance of particular warrants.

Again, the great writ of *habeas corpus* secures the citizen against unjust imprisonment, and long delay of trial. At the demand of the accused he must be immediately brought before a court, who may liberate him, admit him to bail, or remand him upon the proper showing being made. "It allows of

no administrative arrests." It proclaims against the arrests of "suspects." It demands a speedy trial. These are fundamental Democratic principles, and principles potent as guarantees of personal liberty.

Excessive bail shall not be required. A man **is held to be innocent until he is proved** guilty. **If judges could demand exorbitant bail,** they might **defeat this wholesome principle.**

It should be noted, that trials by impeachment, **are not trials for treason. Impeachment** is a trial **for political incapacity, hence by the** Senate generally, **upon presentment by the House** of Representatives.

A well secured penal trial; protection to indicted **persons; certainty of defence; a distinct** indictment **charging a distinct act, which it is** the duty of the **government to prove, and not the** duty of the prisoner to prove his innocence; the fairness of the trial of the prisoner, by a jury of his peers, according to the usual sound rules of evidence; the publicity of the trial by accusatorial not inquisitorial process of trials; certainty of the law; speedy, impartial and absolute verdicts.

The reason for these rules is obvious. The party accused forms one party; society, the State, the government, forms the other. It is clear that unless very strong, distinct guarantees of protection are afforded, that the accused has a fair and impartial trial by jury, that nothing be adjudged

against him but what the law already demands, there can be no security against oppression.

Government being the custodian of power, and power being always desirous of carrying its point—the desire increasing in intensity as difficulties are in its way--there is no better security than that which places the whole burden upon the accusing party.

Democracy is so jealous of the personal liberty of the individual, that it demands these securities against arbitrary power.

Democratic principles demand that there be no such a thing as a "political offence."

It follows that a well regulated penal trial must be had—the individual being placed opposite to public power—a carefully organized trial for treason, well defined, is absolutely necessary. There the rule changes. Government is no longer the accusing power in theory, but is the offending power; but endowed with the force of the government to annoy, persecute, and crush the citizen; hence it is that in the United States, and we believe all the States, treason against the Government is clearly defined in the Constitution itself.

The Constitution of the United States declares:

1. Treason against the United States shall consist *only* in levying war against them, or adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless upon the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. Congress shall have power to declare the punishment for treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

To repeat, therefore, the principles governing the liberty of the citizen in this respect, we formulate them as follows:

1. The indictment must be clear as to facts and time when the offence has been committed.

2. The accused must have, after the indictment, a sufficient time before the trial, so as to be able to prepare for it.

He must have a list of witnesses against him an equal time beforehand.

3. Counsel must be allowed to the accused as a matter of course; peers of the accused must be the judges, and, consequently, must not be asked beforehand, what the result will be.

Perfect publicity must be obtained from beginning to end.

4. Hearsay must be excluded from the trial; confession must be free and in open court; there must be no physical torture or coercion; and there must be good witnesses, and the judges must not depend upon the executive. No evidence must be admitted in criminal that is not admitted upon other trials; there must be no constructive treason, and the judges must not be political bodies.

All these guarantees are secured either by Constitutional or statutory law.

The Democratic party has ever prided itself upon favoring the largest amount of liberty of the citizen consistent with public order; and of shielding to the fullest possible extent the personal liberty of the citizen—hence these well established rules regulating his personal and political liberty are fundamental doctrines of the Democratic party, and should be implicitly adhered to under all circumstances.

Mob law is un-Democratic, and cannot be sanctioned by them under any circumstances. Better that the guilty should escape where there is doubt, than that one innocent person should suffer.

THE SECURITY OF PRIVATE PROPERTY. — Democracy demands the strongest guarantees to be thrown around private property.

It shall not be taken for public use, except that full compensation be first made.

It includes the unrestrained right of producing and exchanging the same. It prohibits the unfair use of the tariff by monopolies, and promotes entire commercial freedom. It demands that it be not taken without the consent of the owner; and, even, when it concedes the right of Government to take a portion, by the way of taxation, it demands that no more be taken even for that purpose, than precisely

sufficient to meet the necessities of Government, and that it be equally assessed upon all alike.

This principle goes so far as even not to permit it to be taken in the shape of a punishment for crime; and forbids its forfeiture beyond the life of the person who has been, himself, found guilty of treason.

We may here say that a person may deprive himself of liberty, or the liberty to use this property during his lifetime, because of a conviction of crime; but it would be unjust to punish his heirs for his own crime; and, hence cannot be appropriated beyond the period of his own life, for his own misdeeds.

This principle also forbids even the supreme power of a State, from passing any law impairing the validity of contracts already made.

All these rights and privileges are founded upon correct Democratic principles — condemnation of monopolies; freedom in trading; freedom of home-production; freedom in the exchange of commodities: possesion of property; taxation; confiscation; each and every one of these has a long history—full of struggles against error and governmental interference, far too long to be here inserted, and can be only hinted at in a work so limited as this is intended to be; yet each and every one is founded upon Democratic principles, and can in no way be violated without trenching upon the liberties of the people, in a free Democratic government.

Repudiation of public debts is not a Democratic

principle; it is a serious wrong, which no State, county, or municipality can indulge in without doing violence to Democratic principles.

PUBLIC FUNDS.—Democracy favors the keeping of public funds under the direct control of the law-making power, notably under the more immediate control of the popular branch of legislative assemblies.

It has almost become a common law where it has not been made a Constitutional provision, that revenue bills and appropriations of public funds, should originate in the popular branch of assemblies. In the English parliament, so jealous are the Commons of this, their right, that they will not permit the House of Lords to even propose amendments to such bills.

If this power were left to the executive will, soon public liberty would have an end. It would be highly un-Democratic to withhold necessary public supplies; but it is the high prerogative of the people to tax themselves, and to tax no people without their consent.

Democracy requires taxation and representation to go hand in hand. Specific purposes must be announced when taxes are to be levied, and applied to such purposes and no other; specific appropriations made for specific purposes, and used for such purposes only.

Democracy cannot consent that any power other

than the people, through their immediate representatives shall transfer public funds from one to another and a different purpose.

Furthermore, Democracy denies to the executive the power to exceed in expenditure the several amounts appropriated for any certain purpose.

It is a vital principle of Democracy and of public liberty, that the purse strings remain in the hands of the popular branch of the legislature; and that the taxing and expending power be in all cases left with the immediate representatives of the people.

PUBLICITY OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.—Democracy favors public business to be transacted in a public manner. The publication of public accounts, and of the votes of public servants. It holds in detestation star chamber proceedings, and inquisitions. It denounces secret political parties. It demands the publication of all public proceedings, and favors the open discussion of public questions.

The public discussion of great questions in public journals is one great means of disseminating truth yet oral discussions, before judges and juries, and in public assemblies are even more important, and doubtless more promotive of public liberty. Democracy favors publicity to the fullest extent, of all transactions in public business. It tends to purity in the administration of public affairs, honesty in the disbursement of public funds; preserves and promotes public economy, and guards the public

against many frauds and peculations that otherwise could not well be avoided. Publicity informs, teaches, educates. It is promotive of patriotism: it sounds the alarm bell in seasons of public danger. It is conducive to eloquence; it prepares the citizen for public duties; it is, in short, the life blood of public liberty, and a leading principle of the American Democracy.

FREEDOM OF ELECTIONS. — The Democratic principle requires absolute freedom of the citizen in casting his ballot. On election day he is a sovereign. Though still amenable to the laws, he is free from arrest in going to and from the polls.

The executive power must have no authority over elections. The electors, themselves, must have charge of their own elections.

They must be absolutely free from military control. No troops must be allowed to be stationed near the place where elections are held.

The principle of permitting executive officers to appoint managers for elections is un-Democratic, and tends to a subversion of the free elective principle.

The minority should always be represented on the boards, receiving and counting the ballots. No intimidation of voters should be permitted.

Corruption at the polls is one of the most dangerous practices, and is evidence of decay in free government. The unbought, unawed, and absolute

judgment of the voter should alone find a lodgment in the ballot-box. When the citizen will sell this his dearest birthright—for money, or anything of value, it should be so heinous a crime as to prevent him ever afterwards from exercising the right.

Another principle is, that the legislative body shall alone be the judges of the election, and qualification of its members.

The executive should have no control, whatever, in determining the election of members.

So too, when elections have been free, so should the representatives of the people be free when met to legislate. They must be free to adopt their own rules of proceeding. They must not be questioned for any speech or debate uttered while in session. They, too, must be free from arrest while in attendance upon their sessions. All must be upon a perfect equality. One must have precisely the right of each and every other member.

There can be no inequality among members, save that which ability and industry will produce. Frequent return and election of members is another vital principle of Democracy. A wholesome fear of constituents to whom they must return for a fresh lease of power, has a restraining and energising influence upon representatives; and Democracy for these reasons favors a frequent return of power to the people, the source of all political power and authority.

LOCOMOTION, COMMUNION AND EMIGRATION.—The freedom of communion is a precious principle of Democracy—of free government.

It should be remembered that the Constitution of the United States is made up of *grants* of power. When a power is not expressly granted, it is reserved to the States or the people.

It is one of the most precious of all individual rights. It is one of those elements of liberty that has, in American institutions, not been even mentioned, because supposed to be unquestioned.

It is singled out here because under other than Democratic institutions, it has been among the very first to be violated. It has been one of the first rights secured when an un-free people declared themselves free—the right to go where they please.

Free communication is an element of civil liberty —no one is truly free, if his right to go where he pleases is interrupted or submitted to surveillance. Equal with this right is that of free speech.

Free or Democratic nations demand the right to free communion, free speech, the right to free public assemblies, and the right to speak publicly of whatever concerns the public good, and also the right and sacredness of free epistolary correspondence.

When the Constitution of the United States was first framed, these rights had not been enumerated; but upon further reflection, these rights were guaranteed by way of amendments.

Liberty of conscience, of free communion, of assembling and petitioning Government for a redress of grievances, belong to this class, and the Democratic right to these privileges is held to be sacred and well guarded in all our Constitutions.

The Constitution expressly declares that Congress "shall pass no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

When all these sacred rights of the citizen have not been rigidly retained in the bill of rights, or in the several Constitutions, still the courts have decided that American citizens expressly possess them. It is as if the nation said, we possess these rights, let the Government dare to take them away.

We have mentioned already the right of freedom in epistolary communion. This is, unquestionably one of the dearest, as well as most necessary rights to civilized man—and yet it was not mentioned by the founders of our Government in our so-called bill of rights—probably so, because they were so little acquainted with a police government.

The liberty of free correspondence should stand between free speech and a free press—free speech—free letters—a free press. The sacredness of free letters appears the more important, because in almost every civilized country the Government is

the only carrier of letters, and forbids individuals or corporations from carrying sealed letters. So soon, therefore, as a letter is delivered to the custody of Government, it has obligated itself to deliver it to the party, and good faith and honorable dealing demands that it be delivered in good faith to the party intended, free from spies and informers, from whatever source they come. The freedom of letters is therefore, as much a Democratic principle, as are those of free speech and a free press.

So sacred is this right, that in the United States, it is said there is not known any means—not even a writ from a court—by which a letter can be extracted from the mails and read, except by him to whom it is addressed.

These are all Demcratic principles, intended for the most complete liberty and protection of the citizen against the powers of Government, even when of the class denominated free Government, These are rights reserved to the people, and so sacred in their eyes, that even a majority, however legally organized otherwise, have no right to deprive any one of them.

CHAPTER XV.

SUMPTUARY LAWS—TARIFF FOR REVENUE —SECTIONAL PARTIES.

SUMPTUARY LAWS NOT FAVORED BY DEMOCRACY—MAN A FREE MORAL AGENT—CIVIL RIGHTS—LIBERTY REGULATED BY LAW—HOW TO RAISE REVENUES—PROTECTION VS. FREE TRADE—JACKSON'S THEORY—A TARIFF FOR REVENUE NOT FOR PROTECTION—RICHARD COBDEN'S VIEW—A MARKET THE WORLD OVER—SECTIONAL PARTIES—ALL SECTIONAL QUESTIONS SHOULD BE BURIED.

SUMPTUARY LAWS.—The Democracy are opposed to "Sumptuary laws," which means that class laws intended to regulate the expenses, the food, raiment, and habits of the private citizen. It protects the citizen against the invasion of these rights by his fellow men, so long as he does not thereby invade theirs. This principle is based upon that which God has recognized in creating man a free moral agent, to do whatsoever may seem good to him, yet holding him accountable for any abuse of the exercise of his free moral agency.

He punishes man for every violation of His laws, whether moral or physical, not only in his moral government, but the law of man's very being. If by intemperance in the use of anything, he violates

the laws governing his body, disease and death is the result; so also should the laws of man be framed to set before him the same incentives to be temperate in all things, in which his fellow-man is interested. While it gives to the citizen perfect liberty, it holds him accountable for violating any of the rights of his fellow-men. He may eat, and drink, and wear, and use whatever he chooses, but if thereby he takes from them, their families, or from his own family, or children, anything which belongs to them in common with himself, it may be recovered back; and so it may be from any who knowingly aids him in doing it.

Communities are entitled to the peaceful enjoyment of their civil rights. Churches, and meetings of a public or private nature, are protected by the exercise of this same principle, and so are families. Each and all have the right to enjoy their homes, their churches, and their assemblies, and when any one, through intemperance in food, drink, or conduct, or in any manner whatever, interferes with the proper and just exercise of those rights and privileges, whereby they are injured, the laws should and do take hold upon him, and restrain him, by penalties, even to the infliction of imprisonment, from interfering with those rights, alike the common heritage of all; and compel him to yield obedience to such wholesome regulations as are best calculated to promote the general welfare.

While, therefore, a majority cannot restrain the

citizen in the enjoyment of his personal liberties, and physical rights, he is restrained through means of legal enactments from injuring any one else by the exercise of them. Thus it is, that poisons, and the means of taking life are sold for lawful purposes; and the citizen can purchase them for proper uses, and when obtained may take his own life therewith; but cannot be sold to him when it is known to the vendor that the purchaser intends to thus destroy himself, or even attempt to do himself an injury. The person may attempt or even take his own life, and for neither can he be punished, or forfeits collected from his estate; but no person can aid him without becoming amenable to the penalties of the law.

Democracy favors legislation, therefore, to protect society in all its rights, while it leaves the individual free to exercise his own, so long as he does not trample upon the rights of others, which are as sacred in the eyes of the law as his own are to him.

It is liberty regulated by law. It is the exemplification of free speech, free letters, a free press, a free table, a free home, a free family, a free person, but in the exercise and enjoyment of any of those rights he cannot injure the very least of one of those associated with him, or who are dependent upon him, in the enjoyment of their rights, without incurring the penalties prescribed for the protection of all alike. Sumptuary laws, therefore, are obnoxious to these sound principles, while in no sense do the proper

exercise of moral principles come in contact with them. Believing in the largest amount of liberty to the citizen, consisting with public order, men are Democrats because opposed to sumptuary laws

A TARIFF FOR REVENUE.—The question of how to raise revenues with which to support the General Government, has been a question which has long been discussed between political parties.

There has always been a party in favor of special protection to American manufactures, by a specific duty on imported articles, whether the necessities of the Government required much or but little revenue. "Protection for the sake of protection" is their fundamental idea; while, upon the other hand there has always existed a strong element in favor of "free trade," the latter varying from a tariff for revenue, which is far less obnoxious to the other class, to that of absolute free trade, and direct taxation.

The Democracy have always favored a tariff for revenue, so levied, as Jackson stated the proposition, "in a spirit of equity, caution and compromise, so that the great interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce will be equally favored."

The doctrine promulgated by the Democracy, and again and again affirmed by their National Conventions, is that as already stated, a tariff for revenue and not for protection.

The Democracy believe that as a Constitutional principle, the General Government has no power to collect more revenue than just enough to meet its lawful expenditures—just enough to carry out the enumerated powers granted to it in the Constitution.

They regard the collection of any greater sum as a system not only unconstitutional, but unjust, unequal, and if persisted in, leading to corruption and ultimate ruin of the best interests of the country. The necessities of the Government, for large revenues, in order to meet the ordinary expenses of the Government; and, in addition to that, the interest upon the public debt, and a portion of the debt itself each year, has caused the people to submit to a higher tariff since the war than they would have done were the circumstances otherwise; but whatever these necessities may be, Democrats do not, as a party, believe in what is called "a protective tariff;" or in raising any more money than is absolutely necessary to meet the expenditures of the Government.

President Jackson, in his farewell address, has set forth the views of the Democracy on this subject, perhaps in the most forcible manner in which they can be presented, upon the various phases which the question may assume.

When the public debt, resultant of the war of A. D. 1812, had been almost paid, and a surplus was about to accumulate in the national treasury, he

advised the people that the design to collect an extravagant revenue, and to burden the people with taxes *beyond* the economical wants of the government, had not been abandoned.

The various interests, he said, would combine together to impose a heavy tariff, and produce an overflowing treasury, and these elements were too strong, and had too much at stake to surrender the contest; and the history of tariff legislation from that day to this, verifies his predictions.

The great corporations which have grown up, and the wealthy individuals engaged in manufacturing establishments, desire a high tariff in order to increase their gains, under the plausible argument that they desire it in order to pay their working men better wages. Designing politicians support it to conciliate their favor, and advocate profuse expenditures for the purpose of purchasing influence in other quarters.

When driven from the policy of making immense public internal improvements, they shelter themselves *under the plea of dividing the surplus revenue thus raised among the States*, as another means to induce Congress to continue the policy of protective tariffs.

The Democracy believe that the only safe principle is to levy a tariff only for purposes of revenue; and confine the Government rigidly within the sphere of its appropriate duties. They insist that it has no power to raise more revenue, or to impose any tax,

except for the purposes enumerated; and that if its income is found to exceed these wants, it must be reduced, and the burdens of the people so far lightened.

The revenue, no matter how raised, unless it be by direct taxation upon incomes, must be drawn from the pockets of the people—from the farmer, the mechanic, and the laboring classes of the country—the consuming class.

The excess not required, cannot be returned to them in any possible way—the class who most need it, and who are justly entitled to it. It is therefore, a species of legal robbery—a forced loan never to be repaid; not for the purpose of defending the life of the nation; but to unduly stimulate the production of manufactured articles beyond the necessities of the hour, that a privileged few may reap its benefits, and accumulate more than their just share of the wealth of the country.

They believe that this unnatural stimulation itself, will, if over production be the result, finally lead to greater embarrassments than if left to regulate itself by the ordinary laws of supply and demand.

Richard Cobden, of England, laid down the cardinal principle of a tariff incorporated in financial legislation, as follows:

"Taxes, when necessary, must be laid for revenue alone, and in their remission of those to be remitted the *interests* of the *consumers* are paramount, and

must be consulted; no taxes should be levied exclusively in the supposed interests of producers or manufacturers—they have no right to enjoy this immunity because in the minority."

In this country, the agricultural class is by far the most numerous, and no legislation is asked to *protect* them. All *they* want is a market the world over, to sell their productions; but the manufacturer wants his productions protected, so that he can sell at the highest prices, by creating an artificial demand, or rather by excluding competition. If the principle were sound, it would apply with equal force to our inter-State commerce, whereas it has been entirely excluded. Hence to aid manufactures, both agriculture and commerce are injured, which is not in accordance with sound principles of political economy, because, in a great agricultural country like this, the principle announced by Jefferson—"the encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid" are conducive of the greatest good to the greatest number, and of vastly more importance to the country at large, than the mere developement of a comparatively small class of manufacturing interests. Rather should all these great interests be considered as Jackson declared, and these be left free and unfettered, that commerce may flow into those *natural* channels in which individual enterprise may direct it, which is always the safest guide.

These reasons, founded upon the Constitution,

and resulting in the greatest good to the greatest number, have induced men to be Democrats, and compel them to favor a tariff for revenue, and not only for the sake of protection. They believe that where so large an amount of revenue is needed to supply the necessities of our government, that sufficient protection is afforded, incidentally, without legislating purely in the interest of classes, thereby aiding in fostering monopolies—the bane of free governments,—which will be enabled thereby to enrich themselves beyond measure, by the additional profits wrung from consumers, who ultimately are compelled to pay, not only the tariff theron—or rather the enhanced price by reason of the tariff, but the additional profits thereon by reason of the enhanced price. For these, and many more reasons, here excluded for want of space, Democrats are opposed to a high protective tariff—as specific duties upon imports.

SECTIONAL PARTIES.—The Democracy regard sectional parties as one of the greatest evils that could arise, indeed, has arisen in this country. President Jackson said, in his farewell address, "the evil is sufficiently apparent to awaken the deepest anxiety in the bosom of every patriot."

And although we have had a civil war, in consequence of sectional strife; and although we have come out of that terrible ordeal with a *united country*, as far as mere territory is concerned, and

would seem to be drifting back into the haven of rest, under the protection of our common Constitution, still the angry waves of sectional strife are not yet entirely allayed, and at every repeated Presidential election the strife is seemingly renewed.

While we do not "see systematic efforts made to sow the seeds of discord between the sections," we do see such efforts made to keep once-existing discord alive. We see a party, which should be national, and magnanimous, being sectional and bigoted, asserting its superior loyalty intelligence and patriotism, as entitling it to rule, to the exclusion of all other sections or parties, unless they bow to their peculiar notions, as to how legislation should be conducted, and by whom the laws should be administered. This attitude in the North is calculated to create a corresponding solidity in the South.

It prevents them from differing upon matters of internal policy, upon questions of revenue and tariffs; and it will do so, as long as there is a party, sectional in its nature, which asserts its right to rule the other section by sheer force of power or of numbers.

Appeals are thus constantly being made in the North to sectional prejudice, and to force into the controversy matters calculated to stir up mutual hatred and strife. The Chief Magistrate, it is urged, should be elected, not alone from one *section* of the Union, but that he must be one who has shown, not the greatest devotion to the Union, and the Consti-

tution—the common heritage of all—but the greatest loyalty to that one party, always in antagonism to the other section, though the occasion for strife has long since passed away; as if it were desired that he should favor a particular part of the country more than he favored the whole or every other part, or to administer the laws impartially in the interest of all sections alike. It would not do to say that all those who thus engage in what seems unwise and unprofitable a crusade, are not patriots and are wanting in public virtue; but while they are presumedly honest, and conscious of the rectitude of their own intentions, they seem to forget that their neighbors, whether by their side, or far away in other States, who have the same interest in good government that they have, may be, and doubtless are equally so. This matter of mutual reproaches and mutual suspicion is the bane of our party politics. Men seem not to reflect, that this is all the country we have; that our States, our counties, our towns, our farms, our homes, lie side by side with those of others, however differing upon political questions; that we look with equal pride to the glory and greatness of our common country; that we worship the same God, and have a common interest in the welfare of our children, to whom this country must soon be committed, and that future generations will find this people so commingling together, if a wise policy is pursued, that none ne

say to another, Were your ancestors "loyal" in 1861?

The Union cannot be maintained and the laws enforced by the mere coercive powers of the General Government. A majority in all sections must feel that their interests prompt them to a cheerful obedience of them. Why then permit sectional feeling to warp their judgment? There are millions of Democrats who would rally around the flag and the Constitution the moment any hostile hands were laid upon either. They would lay down their lives in support of that government, the moment an attempt were made to inaugurate a rival government. It is not in the nature of things that the majority of the people of this country can be its enemies, because it is *their* government so long as it is administered in *their* interests. Why then so ready to denounce the foremost soldiers of the war as enemies in disguise; and by so doing promote bitterness as well as continually build up sectional parties, upon presumed sectional issues, when true patriotism, and love of country, and every noble impulse of our hearts, would prompt every lover of his country to allay and assuage this sectional hatred and strife.

It must cease sometime! It cannot *always* last! Democrats believe great wrong has been done alike to both sections, by not long since burying all sectional questions; and so believing, they are Democrats, because that party has never ceased to urge it, ever since the clash of arms has ceased, as well as long before the strife commenced.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CIVIL SERVICE

DEMOCRACY DEMANDS A PURE, FAITHFUL, CIVIL SERVICE—JA[illegible]SON'S VIEW—HON. ALLEN G. THURMAN'S LIST OF CORR[illegible]TIONS—THE THEFT OF THE PRESIDENCY—THE DIFFERENC[illegible]THE DEMOCRACY SEEKS TO ELEVATE THE CITIZEN RATH[illegible]THAN MAGNIFY THE GOVERNMENT—"DO AS YOU PLEASE, LONG AS YOU DO NOT TRAMPLE ON THE RIGHTS OF OTHER[illegible]—INSTEAD OF "THE STATE SO WILLS AND YOU 'MUST' OB[illegible]—PRINCIPLES NOT MEN."

THE Democracy favor a pure, faithful civil se[illegible]vice. It is one of the cardinal principles of t[illegible] party, and has been frequently alluded to by Dem[illegible]cratic Presidents and statesmen, and engrafted [illegible] their national platforms from the days of Jefferso[illegible] to the present time.

No people can long maintain liberty, and suppo[illegible] free institutions, whose Government is honeycom[illegible]ed by corrupt men and corrupt practices. This the lesson which history teaches—corruption pr[illegible]cedes dissolution in governments, as surely as d[illegible] precedes night.

Early in the history of our Federal Governme[illegible] Jefferson announced as his rule in appointing m[illegible]

to office, to ask the question: Is he honest, is he capable, and does he support the Constitution?

Jackson alluded to the civil service upon several occasions in his messages. He pledged himself to the work of reform in the administration, so that the patronage of the General Government, which had been brought into conflict with the freedom of elections, and had disturbed the rightful course of appointments by continuing in power unfaithful and incompetent public servants, should be no longer used for that purpose. He also declared his belief in the principle, that the integrity and zeal of public officers would advance the interests of the public service, more than mere numbers.

Jackson, also, as a means to purify and *keep* pure the administration of public affairs, advocated rotation in office. Corruption, he said, (as already stated in another part of this work) would spring up among those in power; and, therefore, he thought appointments should not be made for a longer period than four years. He further said, that everybody had equal right to office, and he therefore advocated *removals as a leading principle* which would give healthful action to the political system.

So also in the various platforms of the Democratic party, since the war closed, repeated mention has been made of the civil service, all in perfect accord with the expressions of the earlier Democratic Presidents. Thus have the Democracy both a principle

and a policy marked out to guide them in the civil administration.

The Democracy believe that a pure civil service must be re-established in the administration of public affairs, and that removals from office is the only sure method to accomplish this desirable purpose.

The history of the administration of public affairs since the war closed, has been one of such gigantic corruption, as to bring disgrace upon the Republic; and has furnished the advocates of despotisms, the world over, with new arguments against a popular, free government.

A distinguished Democratic statesman — Hon. Allen G. Thurman—says: "Unfortunately for the credit of the nation, the instances of corruption are so notorious, that a bare reference to them brings forth a picture from which the mind turns with loathing and indignation. The Credit Mobilier, the Pacific Mail, the Belknap trial, the villainies of the Custom House, the straw bids of the Post Office, the Indian and Whiskey rings, and a long list of defaulters in every department of the Government, have become matters of history."

Since these words were uttered by this eminent Democratic United States Senator, we have had scandals arising from the Star Route trials, second to none under any government, in any clime. Not only frauds before which all others sink into insignificance, in the administration of public affairs, but frauds in elections themselves, through which the

people have been robbed of their dearest right—that of the result of their sovereign will through the elective franchise—at the head of which stands out in bold relief, the theft of the Presidency itself, by means of forged certificates of election, and the setting aside of the returns as made by sovereign States of the Union, through the action of all the departments of their government. Thus have the grossest frauds that ever disgraced a free people, manifested themselves.

And, had it ceased here, and those who aided in perpetrating them upon the people been punished, it might have satisfied the public mind; but, instead of this being done, those who perpetrated them—the aiders and abettors of these usurpations and frauds were rewarded by place and position.

When officers in the administration of public affairs thus lose all sense of honor and integrity, what need the people expect, but that "like masters, like men," will be the result,

The Democracy believe in accordance with the repeated declarations of representative Democrats, that to maintain a free government, there must be purity, honesty, and faithfulness in the administration of public affairs; and that when once corruption and fraud have found lodgment in, or at the head of departments of government, there is no other or better way to reclaim the government, than to remove from office the entire party in all the departments, and place them in the hands of new men.

No party thus affected can purify itself—removal from and out of office is the only sure remedy.

Civil service reform as to mere clerical or mental qualifications, will not purify the government; nor will the mere manner of making appointments correct the evil, nor will a tenure of office, because, the promotions from lower to higher positions, will but embolden and entrench dishonesty more securely, and create an office-holding aristocracy; while the people will in no wise be benefitted thereby; but removals and rotation in office will excite a healthy competition, and will give the people that equal right to office and official position, which the theory and genius of our Democratic form of government contemplates.

The Democracy therefore, advocate these methods to purify the administration of public affairs, and an economical and simple execution of the powers of government, they believe, will materially reduce the temptations to fraud and corruption in its administration; and they therefore demand from its candidates as well as its supporters, the strongest pledges, that such will be their conduct if permitted to exercise the powers of Government in behalf of the people. We are Democrats because we believe this to be the true method of preserving a pure and faithful civil service.

THE DIFFERENCE.—It may be said, all this may be true; but do not all parties profess these princi-

ples more or less? Why then are you a Democrat when so many of these principles are held only in common with those who act with the opposing party?

We answer, there is an essential difference between the Democracy, and those who oppose that party. This may arise from various causes—certainly it does exist. It may arise from early training, but doubtless more from natural disposition, from an innate, inherent and so to speak, constitutional difference which inclines the mind to view duty from a different standpoint. The opposition assumes superiority of intelligence and virtue, which they claim as a reason why their peculiar notions should prevail. Were the majority ever so large against them, they would look upon these, nevertheless, as of a lower order of intelligence; vicious in their purposes, destructive in results, while they pay little regard to the principles these people profess, or the policy they desire adopted. Their opponents have ever assumed superior intelligence, and have not refrained from expressing a disdain for a party which, they say, is largely made up of the laboring and "ignorant" classes of the country. They seek to govern by different methods than do the Democrats. With them it has been the *strength* of government relied upon to preserve peace and good order; with the Democracy, *love and affection* have been appealed to, as the stronger incentive.

The Democracy seek to elevate the citizen. The opposing idea is to magnify the government; with the Democracy it has been a favorite idea to grant the largest possible liberty to the individual citizen, consistent with public order; but the opposing idea is, that the least liberty is safest to a naturally depraved nature. Expansion, elevation, personal freedom in the one; a strong government to *subdue* human nature has been the other.

The Democratic idea is, "do as you please so long as you do not trample on the rights of others;" the opposing idea is, "the State so wills and you *must* obey. Compulsion, force, fear, is the mainspring of peace with that class; love, reverence, respect, is the incentive held out in the other to secure obedience to law. It has thus always *assumed* a moral and intellectual superiority, and by virtue of *these* qualities has claimed the *right* to govern. The Democracy have not only denied this authority as well as the claim, but denounced the principle as a vicious one.

This may and doubtless is not the disposition which actuates every man who opposes the Democratic party, but there is a certain spirit so to speak, which actuates every large mass of men, and this manifests itself in the general conduct of the body.

Every association has its distinct features—oft-times consisting of temperament, and various other peculiarities existing in mankind. Such as agree,

more readily associate themselves together. They feel at home in each other's society, and this general agreement gives them a character, which manifests its peculiarity by its general conduct and intercourse with men. It is to this peculiarity we allude as existing both in a party composed of Democrats, and those more or less opposed to them in these fundamental principles.

The wealthy class engaged in non-producing pursuits; the self-assumed aristocracy of the country; the would-be *rulers* of their fellow men, instead of *sharers* with them in the benefit of government, are chiefly those who look with disdain upon the more humble pretentions of the Democracy.

For twenty-five years or more, this spirit in the opposition has denounced the Democracy. They have denounced them because they stood by the Constitution, guaranteeing the rights of the people of the several States to control their domestic institutions in their own way.

Because of this, they of the North were denounced as being guilty of supporting and maintaining human slavery, and likewise denounced with equal vehemence as rebels and traitors to their country, when they were only defending the most sacred rights of freemen guaranteed to all men in the Constitution. They have for more than a quarter of a century been constantly and persistently denouncing Democrats as *enemies* of their country and their race.

Denunciation is their constant means of political warfare. To generously look at what they might deem a mistaken view of what results might be expected to follow, is out of the question. The individual must necessarily have an evil purpose in view, else he would not differ from them! They are the intelligent, moral, virtuous, "loyal" class, and those who differ from them must necessarily have vicious objects in view! There is neither charity, generosity, nor tolerance in their composition.

They are unwilling to believe that a person can differ from their view, and be honest in his opinions; and being vicious in their purposes, must necessarily be repressed by the *power* of government! Thus they have persistently denounced Democrats, as enemies of their race, more because of their faithfulness to the doctrines of the fathers of the Republic, than for any other reason. It has oftimes assumed the character of absolute tyranny and oppression, instead of that toleration and freedom which Democrats at all times are willing to accord to their fellows. These are peculiarities which exist aside from those fundamental differences of opinion upon questions of national or domestic policy, upon which intelligent men might honestly differ.

Men are Democrats because they hate and despise this *spirit* of intolerance and oppression, and can act with no party harmoniously, which is charac-

terized by such methods and habits of thought. These differences are plainly to be seen in the character of their deliverances—laudatory and mandatory, and denunciatory of the purposes of those who differ from them as to measures designed for the welfare of both. The Democracy is doctrinal, tolerant, liberal and patriotic. Its motto is "Principles not men." It asks nothing but what it concedes. Destructive only of despotism, it is the conservator of liberty, labor and property. It cherishes the sentiment of freedom, of equal rights and equal obligations. Its object is, "good will to men."

CHAPTER XVII.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

AN ANONYMOUS OBJECTER ANSWERED BY RESOLUTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS—NEW YORK, 1868—BALTIMORE, 1872—ST. LOUIS, 1876—DEMOCRATS NEVER REPUDIATED—RADICAL OBJECTORS LIKE THE ELDER BROTHER IN THE PARABLE—THE QUESTION OF THE "REBEL DEBT" SETTLED BY SECTION 4 OF ARTICLE XIV OF THE CONSTITUTION.

THERE are some objections put before the country by an anonymous writer, but published by a respectable publishing house, under their endorsement, which should be answered. One of the statements is, that "since the war the Democratic party occupies an apparent attitude of sullen dissatisfaction with what has been accomplished by the war, and evinces a disposition to undo it." How this can be established we are at a loss to know, no proof whatever being offered in support of the proposition. At the first National Democratic Convention after the war, which met in New York, in 1868, it was resolved that, "we recognize the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled for all time to come by the war, or the voluntary action of the

Southern States, in constitutional convention assembled, and never to be revived or re-agitated."

In 1872 they adopted the following at Baltimore: "We pledge ourselves to maintain the union of these States, emancipation, and enfranchisement, and to oppose the re-opening of the questions settled by the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution."

In 1876, at St. Louis, they declared: "we do hereby re-affirm . . . our devotion to the Constitution of the United States, *with its amendments*, universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered the civil war."

In 1880, it again reaffirmed these principles, and nominated a candidate positively pledging himself to support and maintain them; hence, no reasonable mind can imagine any cause for the assertion that they are dissatisfied with the result.

It is true, they oppose the measure of executive control over "Federal elections," so-called, in the States, but these were not measures for which the war was prosecuted to establish; and to say that more than one-half of the American people tell a falsehood before the world when they resolve in favor of a certain measure, is such sheer presumption and insolence as to need no further reply.

Again, that writer says, "that for earlier issues it has substituted intimidation, repudiation, irredeemable paper currency, and depreciated silver

currency;" but he brings no proofs whatever to sustain his mere assertion.

Not one word or syllable does he find in any national platform of the Democratic party, in favor of any of those propositions, or even hinting in that direction, unless he assumes that the remonetizing of the old silver dollar, a measure which a large part of the Republican party sustains, is a "depreciated currency."

If he assumes that because here and there Greenbackers, so-called, sometimes gave individual utterance to sentiments which he construes to mean what he says, he should remember that the great Democratic party is no more responsible for these, than is the Republican party for the utterances of Republicans who allied themselves with that party.

The *Democratic party* has ever stood as a national party, on the platform of a currency convertible into coin at the pleasure of the holder, which is their acknowledged and avowed doctrine.

Again, that writer speaking for his party, says, "So long as the States recently in rebellion remain united, presenting a solid front, so long are their late adversaries bound in patriotic prudence to retain an opposing "attitude." As if to say that, because the Southern people will not join their *party* organization, the country must be constantly threatened with the dangers to be apprehended from geographical parties. The problem is and has been since the war, to perfectly reunite the severed

sections, and when the results of the war are fully assured, what matters it which party controls in certain States. Is no party to have any right to govern by consent of the people, but a party in the North, calling itself Republican? If the national Democratic party furnishes a better common ground on which both sections can stand and reunite their efforts in behalf of common interests and the general welfare, it is one great result of the war *not yet fully accomplished* until that has been done. The war was fought to restore the Union, and to bring back to their allegiance the people of the South, and it is the bounden duty of every patriot in the land to aid that party which gives the strongest assurance, that under its banner this can be done.

Another charge this writer makes against the Democracy is, that "it stood ready, the war over, to call back into the old fold the former elements." If the writer means that the Democracy were ever ready to welcome back into the Union the Southern States, and Southern people, it may well plead guilty of the charge (?) and glory in it as evidence of a true Union sentiment pervading the entire party. It longs for that result. It stands like the merciful father of the prodigal son, to welcome back with open arms those that had gone out from their father's house; those who had eaten the husks of a bitter experience; those who have squandered, for a season, their father's rich inheritance. They come back with half a million of their youth slain

upon the battle-fields of their own section. They too have slain our own youth, and the blood of Americans has been shed by their brothers; but now that the war is over, let no one dare to cast away an opportunity to establish a permanent peace on the basis of a common constitution, and equal rights to all sections, with the only cause of sectional animosities permanently removed.

This radical brother, like his prototype in the beautiful example given by the Savior of the world, is himself standing outside of the Union "in an apparent attitude of sullen dissatisfaction" at the prospect of its early accomplishment, while the lesson our Savior would teach us is, that the father should gladly welcome him back. He fell upon the neck of his erring son and kissed him. He put the ring of adoption upon his finger, and made merry. Our Savior tells of his radical brother, jealous of the love the father still bore for his lost son—no doubt ready to call his father "disloyal," and an enemy to his family for thus treating his prodigal, long lost and erring son—but the lesson is nevertheless taught by "One who taught as one having authority," and not as one of the self-righteous scribes and political pharisees we have in our day.

We must do this—self-interest prompts it. We have high taxes to pay, enormous revenues to raise, a large amount of bonded indebtedness to liquidate, and we need the fertile fields of the South, and the resources of that section of our country to aid us in

doing it. This is what the nation needs. This is what the Democracy wants, and this is another reason why we are Democrats.

This same writer *assumes* that alliance is sought by the Democrats with the South, in order that "the eventual assumption by the United States of their (the rebel) debt; the reimbursement of their expenditure; the pensioning of their soldiers; compensation for their losses incurred in the war; compensation for emancipated slaves; * * * the relegation of the negro to a condition of political nullity."

Does the writer take his partisan friends, and the young men of the country whom he especially addresses, for fools, lacking common intelligence; or does he want the world to believe that he is either a fool himself, or else the knave he appears to be?

The Constitutional amendments settle all these questions. Section 4, of article XIV, of the Constitution of the United States declares:

"SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for the payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection and rebellion shall not be questioned. But neither the United States *nor any State*, shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, *or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave;* but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be illegal and void."

Can anything be more explicit on this subject, even were it not guaranteed by the universally conceded aversion prevailing in all minds, to paying any more than their just debts, and many even refuse to do that? In the first place, no man, woman, or child advocates such a proposition. It could not be paid, even if a majority of Congress, and a President approving it, passed such a law. Every judge in the United States is sworn to be governed by that Constitution. It is the supreme law of the land, any law of the United or of any other State to the contrary notwithstanding. In order to accomplish the purpose this writer proclaims, two-thirds of both houses of Congress would have to agree to submit a Constitutional amendment striking that provision from the Constitution, which would have to be ratified by three-fourths of the State legislatures before that could be accomplished.

All this in the way of its accomplishment, and supported by the universal antipathy of mankind, the self-interest of parties, and every possible obstacle in the way, it is reserved for some writer who has the effrontery to charge in one page of his book that Democrats desire to repudiate their own public debt; and upon another, that they desire to pay that which they *could not* pay if they wanted to, nor do they want to if they could.

Surely such a writer would have the cool assurance to attempt to make the country believe that

Democrats proposed to construct a railroad to the moon! But of such arguments are the objections to the Democratic party and its principles chiefly made up. They present no good reason whatever, why men should not be Democrats.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE RATIONALE OF DEMOCRACY.

WE ARE DEMOCRATS BECAUSE WE BELIEVE IN THE UNION OF THE STATES AS ESSENTIAL TO FREE GOVERNMENT—A DEMOCRAT BELIEVES IN ALL PARTS OF HIS COUNTRY—HE DOES NOT BELIEVE IN SECTIONALISM OR HEAVY PUBLIC DEBTS—DEMOCRATS BELIEVE IN THE RIGHT OF ELECTION BY THE PEOPLE—IN THE SUPREMACY OF THE CIVIL OVER THE MILITARY POWER—IN A GENERAL DIFFUSION OF FRIENDSHIP.

WE ARE Democrats because we believe that the Union of these States is absolutely necessary to preserve free government in America. To preserve tranquility at home, to insure prosperity, to maintain liberty itself, the Union under our Constitution *must be preserved.* Because we believe this, Democrats must never be found advocating doctrines in any part of the Union calculated to weaken the ties which bind every other section to it; must never listen to the promptings of self-interest; such would lead them into a course of policy that would injure the inhabitants of other sections, and cause them to lose their affection for the welfare of the whole country. They must regard this as the citadel of their hopes, entrenched within which all assaults from without

can be easily withstood; nor must they tolerate within their own ranks any doctrines which would permit professed friends to overcome their vigilance.

We are Democrats because we believe that to cherish this feeling within our organization will influence the opinions of those without, and will cause them to share this anxiety, yet within our party will always be found the largest numbers of our fellow-citizens holding truly national principles equally strong and popular in all sections of the land We are Democrats because like Washington, we frown upon all attempts from whatever source—by whatever means—to alienate any portion of our countrymen from the remainder, "thus enfeebling the sacred ties" which bind together the various parts.

A man is a Democrat because he believes that all parts of this country, North, South, East, and West have one common destiny, and the interests of every section are as sacred to him as his own.

A man is a Democrat because he is the inveterate and uncompromising enemy of sectionalism. It is his duty to condemn it wherever he finds it. He gives no countenance to designing men, or parties who would seek to array any one section against another; or who, in order to gain a personal or party advantage, would seek to ride into power by fomenting jealousies and distrust; or to indulge in misrepresentations calculated to alienate and dis-

tract, rather than unite and cement them in their loyalty to the whole.

We are Democrats because, like Washington, we do not believe in foisting upon the people heavy public debts for posterity to pay. In just so far as we favor the opposite course, to just that extent we wander from those fundamental truths taught by the Democratic Fathers of the Republic.

We are Democrats because our jealousy is ever awake against the machinations of foreign powers, which are inimical to the prosperity of free institutions. We denounce the practices of royalty whenever sought to be imitated in this country. We oppose familiarizing freemen to the methods of monarchists, or anything which would lead them to think lightly of Democratic institutions.

We are Democrats because, like Washington, we are opposed to innovations upon the principles of our Government, however plausible they may appear. It is because of this Democrats have ever opposed amendments to the Constitution, granting new and additional powers to the general Government, which has served this country so well through the whole past century. It is our jealousy in this regard, and fears as Washington expressed them, that when once a breach is made, evils will come in like a flood, that compels us to resist. It is because we refuse to be experimenters upon this system, that we are called obstructionists, and taunted with a lack of progress, whereas, it is but our anxiety for

the perpetuity of our institutions, and our regard for the Constitution—our loyalty to the faith of our Fathers—which induced us to withhold our consent from the proposition of every theorist who would mar its beauty, harmony, and perpetuity, by engrafting upon it some new amendment. We are Democrats because followers of that great apostle of freedom, Thomas Jefferson. Like him, we look with alarm upon any encroachments upon the rights of man, or of States.

We are opposed to all appliances of monarchists, like alien and sedition laws. We believe that man, no matter where born, what his religion, or what his station in life, he has equal rights as to religion or politics, person or property.

It is because we believe that the support and maintainance of the State Governments, in all their reserved rights, is the best guardian of these rights, that we resist any encroachments upon those rights, and refuse to have any of them exercised by the General Government not absolutely in accordance with the powers already expressly granted to the General Government. These rights, we believe, are as Jefferson expressed it, the surest bulwark against anti-Republican tendencies.

While we are thus determined to maintain these rights of States, and to hand them down unimpaired to future generations, we believe most emphatically in preserving the General Government in all its *granted* powers—and to administer its affairs with

all the vigor necessary, as the surest method of insuring peace among the States, and securing respect from abroad.

We are Democrats because we believe to the fullest extent in the right of election by the people. We believe that freemen are capable of governing themselves, and have the honesty, patriotism, and ability to guard the polls of freemen themselves, without the aid of Federal bayonets, of Federal appointees, either to overawe the electors, or influence their ballots. We believe that the people need no guardians at the polls, least of all such as have arms in their hands, supported by the agents of Federal power.

Because we so believe, we are falsely charged with desiring to perpetrate frauds at elections, and falsely accused, because of our fealty to the very foundation principles of free government, as enunciated by freemen in all ages.

We are Democrats because we believe in appealing to the intelligence, virtue, and discriminating justice of the people; and demand that when votes are cast, they shall be counted; and that when thus ascertained, the decision should stand, as the judgment of the whole, until another appeal can be lawfully made to the popular judgment.

We are Democrats because inveterately opposed to large standing armies, to be used to overawe the people, and rob them of their liberties, at the beck and nod of executive power. We believe that in a

republic, the intelligent, patriotic militia is all that is needed to enforce the lawful commands of executive power.

We are Democrats, because we believe in the supremacy of the civil over the military power of the State; and are jealous of any attempt at military coercion, until all efforts to enforce lawful demands by the civil authorities have failed.

Democrats believe in economy of the public expenditures, not only as Jefferson says, "that labor may be lightly burthened," but because large expenditures breed corruption in the public service and induce unseemly scrambling for public service.

The man who would repudiate a public debt may call himself a Democrat, but is not in accord with the teachings of his party.

The public faith and honor is a high trust, which cannot be violated without producing demoralization in private life. Our efforts to prevent the public treasury from being robbed by legalized plunderers, is no indication that we are repudiationists of honest debts.

Men are Democrats because they believe in encouraging commerce and agriculture as the surest method of elevating those engaged in these pursuits so largely composing the yeomanry of the country.

Notwithstanding the falsehoods of our opponents, charging Democrats with being, not only ignorant themselves, but having a desire to keep others so, we

are, like Jefferson, in favor of "a general diffusion of information—of public and private education," because our confidence in the people is based upon a correct judgment formed by the people upon all public questions. The slanders of opponents of the Democratic party in this regard, is incomprehensible, when every public act of theirs, and the expressions of their leading minds, have always been precisely to the contrary.

The intelligent ballot, cast by intelligent men, is what Democracy relies upon to support its measures. What it fears most, is the persuasive eloquence of purchasing power, without integrity and intelligence to direct itself.

It is no disgrace to say, that the common laboring classes of the country are more inclined to support the Democracy, than are the rich, intelligent and aristocratic classes. This may be true, and yet not prove that men who belong to this class are not sufficiently intelligent to know what is best for their own interest. It is but natural for men who have lived under political bondage, in the aristocracies of the old world, when they came here to people a new one, devoted to liberty, to instil into the minds of their children, the doctrines of true and genuine Democracy, to be handed down from generation to generation as such. It is because they know that wealth, power, and political influence is oftimes the bitterest enemy of free government, and hence they array themselves under the banner of Democracy, in

order to guard and preserve what they have left of liberty.

This is not asserting that ignorance is not to be found in the ranks of Democracy; nor that vice never invades its precincts; but we do assert that the principles of Democracy teach precisely the opposite doctrine, viz: that intelligence in the masses is the safeguard of our institutions.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE RATIONALE OF DEMOCRACY CONTINUED.

DEMOCRATS FAVOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY—THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS—"HABEAS CORPUS"—DEMOCRATS ARE DISCIPLES OF WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON, JACKSON—OPPOSE LARGE STANDING ARMIES—ROTATION IN OFFICE.

MEN are Democrats, because they favor religious liberty—freedom in religious faith and worship—to the fullest extent. No political rights can be taken from any, nor privileges added, not possessed equally by all. Hence in years gone by, when a crusade was made against the Catholic religion, Democrats defended them against any persecution, or proscription on that account. It was charged against them that they favored the Catholic church as against others. The charge was unjust as it was unnecessary. Should *any denomination*, whether Catholic, or Protestant, assume to control the affairs of State, by means of legislation, whether favorable to themselves, or derogatory to others, none would more readily condemn them than Democrats, educated in these fundamental principles of free government. Persecution or proscription for opinion's sake meets at all times, with the severest condemnation from

the Democracy, if they remain true to the principles they profess.

Men are Democrats, because they believe in the freedom of the press. No "sedition law" has ever received the sanction of an American Democrat who understood the principles he professed. When, therefore, during the war, the Democratic press criticised the action of the administration, and their presses were sought to be stopped by military orders, Democrats denounced such measures, because they violated two fundamental principles in their creed, and they could not permit these violations to go unchallenged even though in time of war, lest by silence they gave consent, that these rights should be lost, though *guaranteed* to them, in the Constitution of their country. They believe emphatically in the doctrine of Jefferson, "that error of opinion may readily be tolerated, when reason is left free to combat it." Hence it was, that because they insisted that their constitutional rights should not be invaded, that they were wrongfully charged with sympathy with those in rebellion, when in truth and in fact, it was their strongest desire to maintain free institutions, in war as well as in peace, as the surest bulwark of our liberties.

Men are Democrats because they believe the person should at all times be protected by the great writ of *habeas corpus*. That it is the inalienable right of every person to have himself brought before any court, when the same is open and

unobstructed by insurrection or rebellion, to learn the reason of his imprisonment. That no man not in the military or naval service of his country, can be lawfully thrust into prison without being charged with a crime, made so by the law, indicted and speedily tried by a jury of his peers. They deny the right of any authority to suspend this writ of liberty, except *where* rebellion and insurrection makes it impossible to hold court, unawed by armed forces. Men may have committed crimes or may not have done so. When thrust into prison, Democrats believe that persons have a right to have their cases speedily adjudged. They believe this is a sacred right, guaranteed to every Englishman since the days of *Magna Charta*, and secured to Americans in every American Constitution; and hence they have at all times and under all circumstances, resisted and denounced the exercise of arbitrary power, no matter by whom attempted, or under what circumstances exercised, save within the lines of military occupation. In the advocacy of these principles they have been fully sustained by the supreme court in every case brought before it.

Men are Democrats, because they believe in trials by jury impartially selected. They deny the right of military commanders to try by courts martial, civilians not in the military service; but insist that all such trials shall be by juries of their peers, impartially selected, and upon indictments presented by grand juries. In this, also, they have been sus-

tained by the courts, whenever a case has been presented. Thus it is that Democratic principles require absolute personal liberty to the citizen, as guaranteed by every State Constitution as well as of the United States, which is the supreme law of the land. "Democracy is the true conservator of life, liberty, labor and property."

Passing from the doctrines of Washington and Jefferson, to those enunciated by Madison, we find the same harmony between them all existing. They are all impliedly guaranteed, if not expressly so, in the spirit of our Constitutions. It is a system that cannot be safely administered upon any other plan, than in accordance with these fundamental principles of Democracy. Madison, the framer of our Constitution, "the Father" of it, as he is called, understood well those principles, and sought to have them engrafted thereon; and when he came to administer the affairs of government under it, he faithfully applied them. He but repeated substantially what his compeers had announced before him. Nothing could be more explicit in enunciating Democratic principles, than his declaration that the support of the Constitution is the cement of the Union, as well in its limitations as in its authorities; and to respect the rights and authorities reserved to the States and the people, as equally incorporated therein, and essential to the success of the general system. Without maintaining these, success cannot be secured. Every violation brings with it trouble

and confusion. So through all his compend of principles, by which he would guide his official actions, we have the utterances of a thoroughly educated Democrat, in the principles of his party.

So, also, when we come to the days of Jackson, through the whole series of his messages are found these same leading principles of the Democratic party.

Experience had only the more indelibly impressed them upon his mind, and by him upon the American people. His caution was, that we do not confound the powers *reserved* to the States, with those *granted* by them. Thus it was, that when nullification raised its head under his administration, he crushed it by the exercise of just powers expressly *granted*, without in the least violating any of the reserved rights of the States.

He announced the great advantage of economy in public expenditures as resulting in purity to its administration — absolutely necessary for the permanence of free government. Luxury and corruption have ever been the forerunners of the downfall of republics — and why not be vigilant, lest they secure a foothold in this? Why not check and eradicate the evil, while freemen have power?

Men are Democrats because they believe this is their duty. If they wander away from the practice of these principles, they are forgetting the most

important part of their duty to their party and to their country.

Men are Democrats when they do not believe "a public debt to be a public blessing." Jackson declared its unnecessary duration "incompatible with real independence." It is a species of slavery, which no true Democrat desires to see continued a day longer than necessary. It creates a bond aristocracy, who live upon the revenues extracted from the laboring class, hanging like an incubus upon the enterprize and business of the country, which no true lover of his country will permit one moment longer than possible. It is a false theory, and false Democracy which teaches that posterity shall pay the debts we contract. They will have enough to do to discharge their own obligations. No people are truly free, until they are entirely free from debt. To bond communities, States, or the United States, unless absolutely necessary for the preservation or security of their lives, liberty, or property, is undemocratic, and should not be indulged in if possible to avoid.

The collection of revenue, either by internal taxes or by tariffs, has always been a bone of contention between political parties.

The doctrine of the Democratic party has ever been, that the safest place for the people's money was in their pockets, until required; hence, no more should be collected by any means, than just enough

to defray public expenditures, and pay the public debt. High protective tariffs on specific articles has never been a favorite mode of raising revenue, with that party. President Jackson advised that it should be levied in a spirit of equity, caution, and compromise, requiring that the great interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce be equally favored. When possible to meet required expenditures, a low tariff has been a favorite motto of the Democratic party.

A high protective tariff is a species of class legislation, at variance with Democratic principles, which seeks to protect the greatest number, granting special privileges to none.

All Democrats oppose large standing armies, believing them dangerous to the liberties of the people, unnecessarily expensive, and of no general utility, excepting to guard our western frontiers from the sudden incursions of Indians, They, however, place great reliance upon citizen soldiers in case of necessity, as sufficient to protect the government in any emergency. It is, perhaps, sufficient to say, that these expectations were amply fulfilled during the late war, when millions of men, from all the avocations of life, were speedily transferred from recruits to veterans.

The principles held by Jackson, that the people should elect the President, without the interposition of Congress, is in accordance with that other Demo-

cratic principle announced by Jefferson—the sacred right of election by the people, and an absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority. The legal votes cast, Democracy demands, shall be counted; and that by no trickery or fraud, or technicality, shall the sovereign voter be defrauded out of this sacred right of a freeman by interested agents.

Rotation in office has always been a cardinal doctrine of Democracy. That no privileged class born to office should be tolerated, but that public place and position should be open to all. That frequent changes of public office preserves purity in the administration of public affairs, and therefore highly beneficial to the general welfare. President Jackson said, "that corruption would spring up among those long in power," and therefore he claimed appointments should not exceed the period of four years; and he favored removals from office, as a leading principle which would give healthful action to the political system.

In cases of real doubt, it has ever been a favorite doctrine of the Democratic party, to submit such questions to a direct vote of the people, a practice which has of later years become nearly general in some States of the Union.

Jackson declared this "to be a submission to the source of all power, the most sacred of all obligations; and the most wise and safe course to pursue."

We are Democrats, then, because we believe in these principles. We believe the just application of them has made this country what it is, and that a proper observance of them will continue to bring us peace and prosperity in the future.

CHAPTER XX.

SUMMARY.

DEMOCRACY OPPOSED TO THE CENTRALIZATION OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT — TO SUMPTUARY LAWS — HIGH PROTECTION TARIFFS—TO THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE—DEMOCRATS BELIEVE IN THE BALLOT—HOME RULE—HARD MONEY—THE RIGHTS OF LABOR—THE DEMOCRACY NEVER TAUGHT REBELLION.

We are Democrats, therefore, because we believe as we have repeatedly declared and reaffirmed, in National platforms, that these principles are Constitutional doctrines in accordance with the teachings and examples of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots. We are Democrats because we are opposed to centralization in the General Government, and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate all in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. We are opposed to high protective tariffs; opposed to sectional parties, opposed to a union of Church and State; opposed to regulating elections in the States by the Federal authority, no matter under what pretexts, so long as the people are willing to hold them under their own local, State laws.

We are Democrats because we believe in the education of the masses—the basis of an intelligent ballot; we favor the fostering and protection by State action, of common schools. We believe in home-rule, the strict maintenance of the public faith, state and national; in honest money, consisting of gold and silver, and of paper convertible into coin on demand; we believe in a tariff for revenue in the subordination of the military to the civil power; in a genuine and thorough reform of the civil service, by prohibiting by law the appointment of men to office guilty of frauds upon the government or the people, in depriving them of the fruits of fair elections; we believe in a free ballot, the right preservative of all rights, and pledge ourselves to sustain this right at all hazards; we believe in free ships, and a living chance for American ships upon the seas; and on land no discrimination in favor of monopolies, corporations, or transportation lines; we believe in public money and public credit, for public purposes solely; in public lands for actual settlers only. The Democratic party pledges itself as the friend of labor and laboring man, and to protect him alike against the cormorants and the commune.

These are the utterances of the Democracy in National Conventions assembled, the only body which can speak for the party; and these are some of the reasons, we think sufficient, why every patriotic citizen should be a Democrat.

The foregoing are some of the most prominent principles enunciated by those who aided in framing and first administering the affairs of our government; and whose principles have almost, if not altogether, as a whole, been adopted by the Democratic party of the country.

Who will dare to say they are not eminently wise, valuable and good ?

What change has taken place since that date, in mankind, or the country we inhabit, that does not make them just as applicable now, in the administration of public affairs, as on the day they were uttered ?

It may be said that the Democratic party has not always adhered to them! That may be so, but that is no valid objection against the principles, themselves. They are as valuable to-day as ever they were, if, indeed, not more so; and it is to call attention to them that these pages are written, with the hope that they may fall into the possession of those who will never cease to urge them upon the attention of the public.

But it is not conceded that the party departed from the practice of those cardinal principles of Democracy. Exceptional cases do not destroy general rules.

As an army is not to be judged of its purposes by the deeds of a few foragers without authority; of a few camp followers, for place or power; or by deserters, who betray the confidence reposed in them,

So no political party can be fairly judged by what a *few* of its adherents may do or say. Or it may be that even professed leaders like Benedict Arnold, may prove traitors to the cause they once espoused; still the great heart, and mind, and purpose of an army, the spirit of it, so to speak, is the criterion by which it is to be judged, and not by the faults of its unfaithful friends.

So with the Democratic party. It may have been led into entertaining false views sometimes; doubtless it has been betrayed by trusted friends, as well as denounced and misrepresented by open and avowed enemies; still, whatever may be said of it, these principles announced are *the* principles of the American Democracy, by the application of which they have sought to administer the affairs of government.

Whoever denounces them has no claim to be called a Democrat. Whoever will not support and defend them is unworthy the name. They *are* the principles, nevertheless, of that great party which has for so many years in the past, and if this is to remain a free country, must in the future be again called to the administration of its affairs; at least these principles *must be* applied in the administration of public affairs, by whatsoever name the party may be called, if the administration is to be a successful one. The foundation of the government is laid upon these; all its machinery is adjusted with reference to them, and the moment they are misap-

plied or omitted, confusion and irregularity will be the result. Thence it is that the party that best understands them—is most devotedly attached to them, gives the best assurance of good government under them, and hence the reasons for the endurance of the Democratic party.

The Democratic party has a distinct policy to announce upon every great question, if it pays any regard to its landmarks. It has the people upon its side, if it remain true to its principles, as it ought. It has the hope and promise of final reward, by the complete establishment of its principles, if it discharges its duty which it naturally owes to the people.

These pages are not designed as a history of the party. To enter into a critical examination of all its acts, and those of its agents, for sixty years before it was displaced from power in the General Government, would fill volumes instead of a few pages; still it would prove the assertions here made to be true. The party has ever looked upon the Union of these States as the first great requisite of peace and prosperity. The fact that whole States rebelled against the authority of the General Government is no proof that the principles of that government itself were defective. So, too, the fact that Democrats in the seceding States, together with the old line Whigs who still remained, disregarded the teachings of Washington, Jefferson,

Madison, and Jackson—especially the latter—who taught them directly to the contrary, in the most solemn manner, and violated those principles held sacred by the Democratic party, is just as little proof that the principles of that party are unsound as was the government itself unstable.

Therefore the charge that the Democracy taught rebellion is utterly false and unfounded—precisely the contrary is its teaching. Absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority, constitutionally expressed, is their doctrine on that point; hence no cause for rebellion existed. It is folly to charge this great mistake as one made by the teachings of a great party. It was in defiance of its teachings and not in accordance with it, that the deed was done.

When the war was over, there was, and still is greater reason for the application of those sound principles of the National Democracy to the administration of public affairs. True to its principles, its mission will never be ended, while the present form of our government endures.

As the number of States and inhabitants increase, and the borders of the country become enlarged, there is greater need then ever before, for the application of them, in order to give peace and security to the whole country.

This, then, is the faith and mission of the great Democratic party of the country. These are some

of its principles, which it were well if every member of the party, indeed, of all parties, would ponder well, and apply in directing the votes which they have to cast.

CHAPTER XXI.

WHY NOT BE A DEMOCRAT?

EVERY LOVER OF TRUTH AND FREEDOM SHOULD BE A DEMOCRAT—THE CREED OF DEMOCRACY IS ONE OF WHICH A MAN MAY BE PROUD—THERE IS "WEALTH, INTELLIGENCE AND RESPECTABILITY" AMONGST DEMOCRATS AS WELL AS REPUBLICANS—THE PARTY COUNTS IN ITS RANKS SUCH MEN AS JEFFERSON, MADISON, MONROE, JACKSON, POLK, WRIGHT, MARCY AND DOUGLAS — DEMOCRACY THOUGH OUT OF POWER IS INFLUENTIAL—REPUBLICANS ON THE THRESHOLD OF WAR—PATRIOTIC DEMOCRACY SAVED THE UNION—WHY NOT BE A DEMOCRAT?

THEN why not be a Democrat? In view of the soundness of their principles, and the results to be attained, when asked why we are Democrats, we might retort, Why not be such? What is to hinder men from being Democrats? No matter what amount of "intelligence, respectability, and wealth" a man may possess, the Constitution of our country gives to the poor man, without regard to race or color, an equal voice in the affairs of the nation—the right to vote as he pleases. He has a constitutional right to be a Democrat, and why should he *not* be one? Every man should vote as he conceives the best interests of his country demand, without regard to the "respectability" (?) of his po-

litical faith. Truth is not always considered "respectable." Christ was crucified by "respectable" Jews, who then belonged to the "dominant" party in their church—the scribes and pharisees of their day. He ate with "publicans and sinners," not at all "respectable" in the eyes of his critics. He was "only the carpenter's son"—the son of a mechanic; they said he cast out devils by Beelzebub; he was denounced as a traitor to his church, and a rebel against God, and yet he was really "Lord of all." His doctrines were true, and did prevail. So, too, our inquiry should be after *truth*, and we should not be frightened from embracing it, by the cry of "rebels, traitors, enemies of their country, supported by the worst classes of society," and all that kind of talk, addressed to prejudices, instead of the reason and judgment of men. In view of the fact, as we have seen, that the Democracy of this country have established a system of political action unsurpassed in its good effects upon the country, we may well ask any man, "Why not be a Democrat?

To look *only* to wealth, intelligence, and "respectability," from which to learn your political duty, and govern your interests, is not sufficiently safe, nor is it patriotic, in a country like ours. Intelligence, wealth and respectability are no crimes. They are nothing to be ashamed of. It is a result every true man may be ambitious to honorably obtain; and it is no *reason* why you should *not* be a

Democrat. There are hosts of Democrats who are intelligent, wealthy and respectable. There is nothing in their creed that need bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of any man. The man who pins his political faith to respectability and wealth alone may live to see his errors when too late. The aristocracy of England is wealthy, respectable and presumedly intelligent, yet it *rules* the English nation; and the *people* only have such power as they have from time to time wrested from the ruling class. The ruling class of all monarchies, and aristocracies, might well make the same arguments those do, that *they* belong to the "intelligent, wealthy, respectable" party. But if left alone to that class, where will the toiling millions be? The Democracy seeks to elevate the lower classes. Before the war, it had gone to the very verge of sound principle, to lay broad and deep the foundations of popular suffrage; and when four millions of ignorant slaves were to be suddenly brought to the ballot box, they *feared* the result; but now that it is so, they feel that safety only exists in educating and elevating them to be worthy citizens, rather than idle, ignorant and vicious ones. Democratic principles demand this.

Democracy seeks to give all classes an equal voice in the affairs of government. It binds them down to no "property qualification." It insists that man "is a man for a' that." It is a fact, that if only wealth and so-called respectability were per-

mitted to govern a country, the lower classes of society would soon descend to be mere slaves. It is the ballot which elevates the masses. Giving them an equal interest in public affairs, excites them to acquire information, stimulates education among them, and lifts them up to a higher plane of existence; and to say that a party is unworthy of popular support—the support of the young men—because of its sympathy with the struggles of the laboring classes, because it has attracted the toiling millions to its banner, is no reason why they should not be Democrats; but rather should it be a stronger reason why they should, early in life, espouse the cause, and unite their fortunes with the party of those grand old principles which have made America what it is to-day—the home of happy millions of laboring men who have fled from the oppression of the "wealthy, respectable, aristocratic" class which governs Europe. Instead of being ashamed to espouse such a cause, let them be proud to ask "why should I not be a Democrat? Why not be one of those who seek to give the toiling millions an equal chance in the battle of life.

But we deny that "wealth, intelligence, and respectability" is alone found in the ranks of opposers of the Democracy. For sixty years before the war, intelligent and respectable men governed this country, and they were Democrats. The Democracy added to the magnificent domains of the country, East, along the Atlantic seaboard, and the even

more magnificent Territories of the almost boundless West.

It stretched out its borders even across the Rocky Mountains, to the far-off shores of the Pacific, and opened to the sea the borders of the land to the South, through which flows the "father of waters," on the shores of which are laid broad and deep the foundations of mighty States. It advocates doctrines which will let each State take care of its own interests, while it also performs its duty to the whole, thus establishing a family of States, "a nation" such as no country on earth can be compared with, which in the intelligence and happiness and freedom of the "lower orders of society;" at whom the "lords" of the land would sneer, because they are Democrats. This great party numbered among its leaders, a Jefferson, a Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Polk, Wright, Marcy, Douglass, and a host of intelligent, noble patriotic Statesmen, than which no country, or party, can claim superior in the education necessary to frame and administer the affairs of the most free, and best government on earth. Ashamed of being a Democrat?

'Just as soon
Let midnight be ashamed of noon."

Why then *not* be a Democrat? When such as those have gone before and blazed the way through a forest of difficulties, until our country has emerged

upon broad plains. Under the brilliant sunlight of past experience, we can now see our way under the blessings of Providence, as over the plains of the West, far as the eye of imagination can reach, and beneath it a country blooming and blossoming as the rose.

Then look at the past twenty years and over, since the Democracy have gone out of power, but not retired from influencing public affairs. The darkest spot upon our country's page has been those twenty years. No other twenty years have equalled them in human woe, misery and distress. Out of this woe, this misery, God brought the country at last, we believe more resplendent with true glory, than ever before.

The dark spot of human slavery was wiped from its disc; but it was not the Republican party that alone did it. True, their agitation of the slavery question, and the corresponding fanaticism of the South, plunged the country into a civil war, but at its commencement the Republican party *resolved* to amend the Federal Constitution so as to *secure* slavery in the States where it existed. It was wiped out as the result of war, which every patriotic citizen would gladly have averted, but an overruling Providence strangely brought about the result, and no one party can lay claim to it alone.

The Republican party stood aghast and trembling at the threshold of war, when they first came into power. They were willing to *confirm* slavery in the

States as the price of peace. The abolishment of slavery was the work of a higher source in *spite* of parties or the people. But look at all which history has written since then, and where is there anything to boast of, or that would lead young men to be proud of it, above all others? Surely not the gallantry of *its* troops alone put down the rebellion! There were nearly one million five hundred thousand men in the North, who supported Douglass in 1860, and many more hundred thousands, Bell and Everett, the so-called Union candidates, and only one million and a half who voted for Abraham Lincoln. There were *more* Democrats and Union men in the Union army from the North, perforce of circumstances, than from the Republican ranks; and without their aid the war could *not* have been successfully brought to a close. *It was the patriotic aid of Democrats that saved the Union,* and without their aid, or else the establishment of a military dictatorship, it could not have been saved from the destruction into which sectional madness had forced the country, and the latter itself would have destroyed it. But where is there anything *specially* commendable in the civil administration of public affairs since the close of the war, that marks the career of the opposers of the Democracy as a bright epoch in the history of this country? Was there ever a time of more stupendous frauds committed upon the government than during those years, and by those who had sworn to protect and defend it?

All this done under the partisan cry of "loyalty" to the government. We do not charge the Republican masses with being participators; rather do we say that we know that upon their cheeks mantled the blush of shame for the men to whom they trusted their honor, when they so shamelessly had betrayed their trust. It was deeply humiliating to know that even a Vice-President had to be retired to private life in disgrace; that fraud and corruption nestled close to the presidential chair, filled by a representative of that party—yea it crept into his cabinet and was expelled therefrom for robbing the government, but they are responsible so far as they sustain men in it. Tell us, is there anything like it in history; and why should we *not* be Democrats, when leaders on the other side have thus betrayed their country and their party, and have not even repented of their sins, as the rebellious States of the South, who have accepted every condition imposed upon them.

But not only these things, but when were the principles of English and American liberty more recklessly violated than during the past twenty years of our history. When men were plunged into dungeons without affidavits or warrants, merely at the beck and nod of some military satrap—or Secretary of State—the same refused trials in courts that were open, by a jury of their peers, according to the Constitution of their country; but upon the contrary, were tried by military court-martials or-

ganized to convict! Legislative halls guarded by armed men, and civil administrations stricken down yet all under the broad *aegis* of a free Constitution! Why not then be a Democrat, when its principles are those on which rest the best hopes of the world —civil and religious liberty—and the emancipation of the masses.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY.

COMPLETE RECONCILIATION MUST COME—CENTRALIZATION MEANS DESPOTISM—DEMOCRACY ALONE CAN DESTROY SOCIALISM—EVERETT'S SPEECH AT GETTYSBURG—ENGLAND'S WARS OF THE ROSES—CIVIL WAR OF THE 17TH CENTURY—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES MUST TRIUMPH—WHILE FREE GOVERNMENTS LIVE DEMOCRACY CANNOT DIE—NOW IS THE TIME—YOUNG MEN RALLY TO THE STANDARD.

THE Democracy believes that complete reconciliation must take place — that their principles will finally triumph in the administration of our public affairs, they have no doubt. The progress our country has made under the benign influence of Democratic ideas, notwithstanding their interruption by the events occurring during the greatest civil war known in history, foreshadows this.

No other policy will preserve the Union, and the liberties of the people at the same time, and we believe both will be our heritage. The limits to which this principle of co-equal sovereign States, bound together in one national government, under a Constitution of granted powers, can be extended, is scarcely conceiveable. Each attending to its local concerns, and domestic affairs, free from inter-

ference by the central or supreme government, brings the power to govern the people home to their own firesides.

If dissatisfaction arises, it can be remedied by themselves without disturbing the peace of the whole. It is emphatically the principle of local self-government in the States. They are alone responsible for their bad laws. They reap the blessings of good ones, while the great mass of the people of the United States, now numbering over fifty millions, can go on with their enterprises, developing the country, and building up the great West, founding States, each possessing this same right to pass such laws as to them may seem best. As the country becomes enlarged and population increases, the application of these principles becomes still more necessary. Then why not adopt them as the rule of our political action? Why demand a stronger government, as the Republicans do, when this is absolutely the stronger of the two. Centralization must mean despotism. A government, to reach out to the verge of a mighty empire, must of necessity be centralized, powerful, and not depend upon the masses but the military, for enforcing its requirements, or else its duties must be few and simple, and only concern national affairs, easily enforced, and felt as little as possible by the citizens of the country. This the Democracy want—any other form will be a failure. Our present form of government is, therefore, the best ever devised by man; especially is it so, for the

circumstances under which we find the country placed. A climate ranging from the rigorous winters of the extreme North, to almost the tropics of the South, has a variety of productions of the soil, and diversified interests to consider. No legislation could, under these manifold conditions, be generally acceptable. We *must* have legislation by smaller districts. The whole people could not be sufficiently represented in one great national assembly Therefore, of necessity, the great mass of our laws, in order to be satisfactory, must be remitted to the people in the States.

When Congress has regulated commerce with other nations, established a uniform rule of naturalization and bankruptcy, coined money, and regulated the value thereof, declared war in case of necessity, established post offices and post roads, and exercised a few other powers, it has not only enough to do to occupy all its time, but has exhausted all its powers granted under the Constitution. If these powers be wisely exercised, in such a manner as to bear with equal weight upon all, in no spirit of sectional superiority, there is no limit to the power of expansion under our system. Whatever makes men love their government, makes it *strong*—especially is this true in a free government like ours. If this system be adhered to, and the North, and the South, and the East, and the West be made to love, respect and obey it, because of the blessings it brings to them, what may not the next

hundred years in America witness? With a soil naturally productive in all sections of the country, mineral wealth stored away beneath it in abundance; lakes, rivers, and railroads affording abundant facilities to interchange products and manufactures with each other; the wants of one section supplied by another, creating activity in trade, incentives to enterprise, stimilants to progress, where are to be found brighter prospects for a nation, if we are true to the principles on which our government is founded, than here in this heaven-favored land. But in order to continue our national prosperity, and enjoy the full fruition of our hopes, we must bury our sectional prejudices, and enforce the benign principles so patriotically announced by Washington, when he took public leave of his countrymen.

This reconciliation cannot be brought about by force. It is alike impossible that the bitter passions of the war period can long be continued, or that force and oppression, or denunciation should bring about reconciliation. A beneficent providence has so constituted our natures, that a violent degree of passion exercised in one direction, is sooner or later followed by a re-action in the opposite direction. If this were not so, and as Everett said, upon the brow of cemetery hill, at Gettysburg, where but a few months before had been turned back the rebel armies, and their success become impossible, " were hatred always returned by equal and still stronger

feelings of hatred; if injuries inflicted always lead to still greater injuries, by way of retaliation; and thus forever a compound of accumulated hatred, revenge, and retaliation were the result; then for thousands of years would this world have been inhabited with demons only, and this earth have been a perfect hell. But this is not so; all history tells us, it is not true." The North and South will and must be reconciled. The Democrats must do it. All must feel that they have a common interest, and a heritage under a common government; and the *strength* of the government will be beyond calculation; but upon the other hand, you station the military force of the union in their towns and cities, place national supervisors of elections at their polls, send Federal Deputy marshals to arrest and imprison the people, distrusting their ability and patriotism to guard their elections against fraud and violence, and the generation is yet unborn that will see a perfect union of those states. The great problem, how to break down sectionalism, North and South, and so order affairs that parties shall not be divided by geographical lines, is still unsettled. What party is so well qualified to do this as the national Democratic party, under the guidance of its chosen leaders.

When Everett delivered his last great address at Gettysbury, in A. D. 1863, he did not know that he was predicting a parallel to the history recited, in portraying the close of other rebellions. He brought

to mind the fact, that the War of the Roses in England had lasted thirty years, from 1455 to 1485. It was one of the fiercest civil wars known in history; eighty princes of the royal blood had lost their lives, and the families of the nobility almost annihilated. The strong feelings of affection which kindred families then bore for one another, and the vindictive spirit which that age of the world made it a point of honor to maintain, rendered the great families of England implacable enemies. But *at last* the titles of the two contending families were centered in one person. Henry VII went up from Bosworth field to mount the throne. He was received everywhere with joyous exclamations, and regarded as one sent by Heaven to put an end to that terrible strife, and give peace and prosperity to a distracted country.

Take the instance of another rebellion in England lasting from 1620 to 1640, twenty years, ending suddenly with the return of Charles II. These again were twenty years of discord, of conflict, civil war, confiscation, plunder, havoc, and destruction A proud, hereditary peerage trampled in the dust; a national church overturned; its clergy beggared; its most eminent prelate put to death; a military despotism established upon the ruins of a monarchy that had lasted seven hundred years, and its legitimate sovereign brought to the block. All this and more done to embitter and estrange a people, and madden and enrage contending factions, and yet these people were reconciled! Not by a gentle

transition, but suddenly, when the restoration had appeared most hopeless. The son of the beheaded monarch was brought back to his father's house, and to his bloodstained throne, amid such universal and inexpressible joy as led the merry monarch to exclaim, he doubted it was his own fault he had been so long absent, for there seemed to be no one who did not protest that he long since wished for his return.

God has oftimes in a wonderful manner ended rebellions. It was hoped at one time that ours—by Sherman's agreement—would have ended as suddenly and as joyously; but those in authority did not so will it.

Take one more instance — that of the French Revolution. It was a reign of terror understood by all. A blacker page of crime cannot be found in all history. Another church broken up; its clergy murdered; men slaughtered by boat loads, and beheaded by machinery! A monarchy destroyed; a royal family extinguished, and their adherents exiled or beheaded. If the most deadly feud had the power permanently to alienate one portion of a people from another, surely here we have an example; but far otherwise was the fact. Napoleon brought order out of chaos; the Jacobins of France welcomed home the returning emigrants, and royalists, whose estates they had confiscated, and whose kindred they had brought to the guillotine.

After another turn of the wheel of fortune, Louis XVIII was restored to his throne, and he took the regicide Fouche to his cabinet and to his confidence, though he had voted for the decree ordering his brother's death. So, too, should the dissentions in this country cease. It would long since have been so had not base, designing men, for their own selfish purposes, prevented it. But they can not prevent it much longer. This Union must be restored. The great public heart yearns for it. Should not the whole country have welcomed back those once in rebellion, into the folds of a common nationality, and forever silenced the distrust of sections?

Let us cast away this revengeful disposition; let the better principles of our nature do their work, and soon we shall see a nation of freemen rejoicing over the restoration of their Union, and the reconciliation of their difficulties, as none have ever rejoiced before. It is the knowledge of these things, their importance to the country, the necessity that it should be speedily accomplished, that impels Democrats to the task. They are Democrats because they *earnestly* desire to see this great result accomplished. They know in their principles no North, no South, no East, no West—but take the whole country into their affections and esteem, and this is one great reason why they *are* Democrats.

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES MUST TRIUMPH.—It may be true that the party has not always faithfully

carried out these principles, as declared to be fundamental Democratic doctrines. The more is the pity. It is with the view of recalling these ancient landmarks of the party to the attention of its voters, and urging them not only upon the young men just coming upon the stage of action, those in the discharge of active duties in the party, but also the old, gray headed veterans of this cross, which they have borne for so many years, in order to brush up their faith for a renewed and long continued contest for the final supremacy of those grand principles which have stood the assaults of the enemy, that we have prepared these pages. They need not be discouraged; their words, and actions, and votes, have not been in vain, even though their opponents have quite frequently pilfered their principles; yet thus have they given law to the land. They have contended for a recall of troops from the South, and obtained that. They have pleaded for reconciliation and peace, and will have that also; and when once more the country shall have been fully restored and the small New England States will feel their power and prestige departing from them, and the grand old doctrines of the Democracy—properly understood State rights—will be their own salvation; and when the agricultural districts of the great West, will have struck hands with those of the South, in whose welfare they are so deeply interested, the party which professes these national doctrines will gain the ascendancy as if by magic, and all who

oppose them will be buried in the tomb of the Capulets.

Such we fondly believe must be the manifest destiny of those immortal principles of Democracy which can only die when our country, under its present form of government, has no longer an existence. While free government lives, these principles of Democracy cannot die.

NOW IS THE TIME!—There is no time at which men more readily change their political relations, than during Presidential elections. These represent broad issues, of a national character, while the contests in the States are not always calculated to unite otherwise harmonious political elements. The Democratic party has had a national creed for more than three-quarters of a century. Many of their principles have been adopted even by their opponents. The question of secession has been settled by war—there is now no difference of opinion as to that heresy. The question of slavery has likewise been settled. These war issues are buried; the subject of reconciliation, and the best mode to accomplish it has been an issue ever since Sherman's and Grant's terms with Johnson and Lee. The complete unification of our country, North and South, with a common sentiment of nationality pervading the people, has been the hope and wish of the American Democracy for more than eighteen years. Their method is about to triumph. The methods of war

are laid aside, and those of perfect peace are to prevail. The Constitution is about to be enforced as our fathers understood it, when Jackson laid down the true doctrine in regard to it. These have never been dead issues; many Republicans have ever believed in them. Now is the time for men to take anew their position on national grounds. A new era is about to dawn upon us as a nation; therefore let the young men of the country come to the front; they can soon throw themselves to the head of a great party, which has ever taught true doctrines. Its flag went down when sectionalism prevailed. It goes up all over the Union when true national views prevail; its banners should now be borne by the men who are coming upon the stage of action during the next quarter of a century; let them make the party what they desire it to be—true to the Constitution, and true to the Union, and no sectional party can drive them from their position; the whole country is ready for peace and good will to all.

Now let them rally to its standard; let the methods of the war era be forgotten. Let the party which so long held its position, and which has come to think that the country belongs to them alone, be asked to retire; and if they refuse to go, as they did a few years ago, let them be *compelled* to vacate. This country is for other, and more men, than a few hundred thousand party machinists! It is well to teach them that it belongs to the *people.*

Young men, rally to the standard of the Democ-

racy. Take your position in their ranks and aid them in this work, and with a regenerated country, will come a reinvigorated party, with you at its head, which will make our country even more than our fathers ever dreamed it would be. Young men to the front! Be Democrats! Why not?

ORDER OF BUSINESS IN CONVENTIONS.

DUTY OF CENTRAL COMMITTEES—THE CALL—TEMPORARY ORGANIZATIONS IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO CONVENTION—ELECTION OF OFFICERS—ORDER OF COMMITTEES—CALLING FOR REPORTS—AMENDMENTS—THE PERMANENT CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS—RESOLUTIONS—MINORITIES AND MINORITY REPORTS—PRESIDENTIAL VOTE FROM 1789 TO 1880.

THE writer deems it a matter of sufficient importance, to devote a chapter on the subject of conducting party political conventions. There is nothing more humiliating and demoralizing to a party, than to have its business in conventions transacted in a disorderly manner. The few practical directions here given if observed, will prevent much confusion, and sometimes absolute disorganization.

There is scarcely a political division which has not a central committee appointed at a previous convention to perpetuate itself, and thus preserve the organization of the party. It is the duty of this committee to fix the time and place of meeting, and to apportion the number of delegates, to the several subdivisions comprising the district, municipality, township, county or state for which the convention is to be held.

When this committee has issued its call definitely settling the time and place of meeting, the number,

manner and time of selecting the delegates, it ought also to provide for a temporary organization of the convention, when it shall have so assembled; or it ought to meet, shortly preceding the time set for the opening of the convention to provide for a temporary organization of the same, as the most orderly manner of proceeding. It was formerly the custom, and doubtless still is, in some parts of the Union, for a member to arise in his place at the opening, and propose the name of some one to act as temporary chairman, or president of the convention, or meeting, as must still be done in mere mass meetings, where no committee of arrangements has the assembly in charge; yet, undoubtedly, much the best method is for the chairman of the central committee, or of the committee of arrangements, or some one in his place, to be at the time and place announced for the assembly to meet, and to name the temporary presiding officers through whom to effect the permanent organization of the body.

Having announced the names of the temporary officers, it is his duty to introduce those thus selected, who will take charge of the meeting, and proceed to effect a permanent organization of the same.

After having announced his readiness to proceed to the business in hand, his first duty will be to call for the appointment of suitable committees, through whom to permanently organize the convention.

These committees usually are appointed in the following order:

1st. Committee on credentials.

2nd. Committee on permanent organization, rules and order of business.

3rd. A committee on resolutions.

4th. A committee to present names composing the central committee for the ensuing term.

When all these, and other committees desired, have been duly appointed, it is customary, indeed necessary, to take a recess, to a time fixed in the motion, in order that these committees may have time to meet and complete their reports; he should also ascertain and announce before the recess is taken, where and when the several committees are required to meet, for the transaction of the business entrusted to them.

When the time has arrived to which the convention has taken a recess, it becomes the duty of the temporary presiding officer, to again assume his position, and call the convention to order, and to announce the business of the convention.

The first thing in order will be the report of the committee on credentials, because it is, of course, not in order to transact any business to be brought before the convention, until the body itself has first settled who are, and who are not members thereof.

It is the duty of this committee to hear and determine all contests between delegates for seats in convention, and to make a report of their finding to

the same. When this report is presented, the question before the convention will be, the adoption of the report, and when adopted those named in the report are considered members of the body to which elected.

The next thing to be done is to call for the report of the committee on permanent organization, rules, and order of business.

This committee selects the permanent officers of the convention, and presents some code of rules by which the body is to be governed, usually the rules of the House of Representatives of the State wherein assembled; and this report should be in writing. The question before the convention, really is without a motion, the adoption of the report.

Should any one desire to see other officers elected, than those named by the committee, it is competant for a member of the convention to move that certain names be substituted in place of others, named by the committee to act as the permanent officers of the body. It is the duty of the temporary presiding officer to put this motion before the convention, as it bears the relation of an amendment to the report. If this be carried, then the next question is, the adoption of the report as amended; or if the amendment has failed, then to put the question on the original report of the committee. If this report be adopted, it is customary for some member of the convention to move, that a committee of three be appointed to wait upon the president or chairman

elect, inform him of his election, and to escort him to the temporary presiding officer, introduce the person so chosen to preside, to the temporary chairman, who in turn should introduce the person elected to the body over which he is called upon to preside. When this has been accomplished, the temporary officers must retire, and place the permanent officers in charge of the convention.

It is usual for the permanent chairman to address the convention upon the subject and work before it, and thereafter to announce that the convention is now permanently organized, and ready for the business for which the body has assembled.

After this has been accomplished, the first business in order should be the report of the committee on resolutions, if ready to report, because it is generally advisable to adopt the resolutions before nominating candidates. If, however, a different order of business has been reported by the committee on permanent organization, rules, and order of business, that order must be observed. If not, then, if the convention desires to proceed to business, before the committee on resolutions has reported, a motion is proper to be made, providing, that the rules be suspended, and some other order of business be taken up, which generally requires a two-thirds vote to pass.

If this is not done, then the order of business laid down by the committee *must be observed*, and as this generally provides for the reports of all commit-

tees before nominations of candidates, nothing else can be done until the reports of committees have all been acted upon.

The selection of a central committee sometimes creates confusion. It would seem proper that in a State convention, where Congressional districts have each the selection of a member of the committee, no committee to select a committee is necessary, but each district can elect their own member, and to announce the names is all that is necessary; but in all cases this cannot be done, and inasmuch as small bodies can give more deliberation in the selection of agents than larger ones, it would seem to be in accordance with the fitness of things, that the selection should be made by a committee appointed for that purpose.

It is the duty of the presiding officer to observe closely the order of business, and rules of proceeding adopted by the convention. Any variation from these rules will necessitate a motion to suspend them, a matter that would require, generally, a majority of two-thirds to adopt.

It is frequently the case that enthusiastic members offer resolutions before a permanent organization has been effected. These, when not in aid of organization are out of order, and the chairman ought not to entertain such, as his only duty is to see that the body is fully organized, and not permit any business to be transacted regarding the purpose of its assembling together.

After the convention has been thus legally and fully organized, it becomes the duty of the chairman to announce the business to be done, and in the order named as adopted by the assembly.

In this way all confusion can be avoided, and the business before the body can be speedily and harmoniously transacted. To permit business in deliberative bodies to be done irregularly, and out of order, confuses conventions, destroys their influence, and is calculated to bring the body and the cause into disrepute before the people.

When the point has been reached to nominate candidates, the chairman should announce that order, and when all the names of candidates have been presented, he should declare nominations closed and direct the secretary to call the roll of constituencies represented in the convention, such as wards, townships, counties or districts as the case may be, for the announcement of the vote of each. When the roll is being called nothing else is in order, but the call and the announcement of the vote cast. It frequently happens that votes of delegations are disputed. These cannot be counted, nor the disputes settled by the convention while the call is being made. It would be entirely proper to proceed with the call, and then, when the same has been concluded, and the result announced, stating the fact, doubtless the matter could be referred to the convention, but the rule is, that the several constituencies must agree among themselves as to how

they desire their ballots to be cast. The convention can only adopt rules as to how the vote shall be taken, and if those represented in the convention refuse to obey these rules, it would seem proper that their votes should be lost—which is a proceeding that will generally reduce refractory constituencies to obey the rules of order provided for their government.

When a committe is unable to agree unanimously upon any proposition, the minority may present what is called a minority report, but this has no standing in the body until a member moves that it be substituted for the majority report, which brings it before the convention to be acted upon, and if adopted, takes the place of the majority report, and may then be adopted by the body.

To speak of all the parliamentary rules applicable to proceedings of conventions would swell this work to undue proportions, and those given must suffice. However, these few practical directions might, if observed, avoid much confusion, and not unfrequently much bad feeling between members, and hence here given, in order that he who is even not skilled in parliamentary rules, may at least see his way clear, when called on to preside over such meetings, and be able to manage political conventions to the satisfaction of himself, and those over whom he has been called to preside.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.—1884.

THE Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognizes that as the nation grows older new issues are born of time and progress and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voices of the people, remain, and will ever remain, as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights; the equality of all citizens before the law; the reserved rights of the States; and the supremacy of the Federal government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties, and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enable a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government.

But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. Otherwise abuses grow, and the government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the

many who are governed for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers.

This is now the condition of the country. Hence a change is demanded. The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence; in practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party; yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

Therefore, a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers who had bargained for unlawful profits or for high office.

The Republican party, during its legal, its stolen and its bought tenures of power has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity.

Its platform promises are now a list of past failures.

It demands the restoration of our navy. It has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist.

It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under

which American shipping has been depressed. It has imposed and has continued those burdens.

It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers. It has given away the people's heritage, till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas.

It professes a preference for free institutions. It organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops.

It professes a desire to elevate labor. It has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor.

It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war, leaving widows and orphans. It left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions.

It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff. It created and has continued them. Its own Tariff Commission confessed the need of more than twenty per cent reduction. Its Congress gave a reduction of less than four per cent.

It professes the protection of American manufactures. It has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials.

It professes to protect all American industries. It has impoverished many to subsidize a few.

It professes the protection of American labor. It

has depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people.

It professes the equality of all men before the law. Attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, the acts of its Congress were overset by the decisions of its courts.

It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform." Its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honey-combed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its counsels or a veto upon bad nominations.

That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than $100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes which have paralyzed business, crippled industry and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the Administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the Nation to its creditors and pensioners.

Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public

opinion, but responsive to its demands, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests.

But in making reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government taxes collected at the custom house have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely on legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice.

All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country.

Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal government, economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got, under our present system of taxation, from custom-house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury, and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

We, therefore, denounce the abuses of the existing tariff; and, subject to the preceding limitations, we de-

mand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the government, economically administered.

The system of direct taxation known as the "Internal Revenue" is a war tax, and so long as the law continues the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers, a like fund for the sailors having been already provided; and any surplus should be paid into the treasury.

We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the government, in its dealings with the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion—religious or political.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count; and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making every-

where illegal the presence of troops at the polls as the conclusive proof that a Democratic Administration will preserve liberty with order.

The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty; we favor honest civil-service reform and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of church and State; and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly, and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should, therefore, be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor.

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republi-

can party, should be restored to the public domain; and that no more grants of land should be made to corporations, or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the general government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States, or the citizens thereof.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor, or the admission of servile races, unfitted by habits, training, religion or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed.

The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this government to protect, with equal fidelity and vigilance, the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad; and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization, issued by courts of competent jurisdiction, must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own government and by all foreign powers.

It is an imperative duty of this government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof.

An American citizen is only responsible to his own government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act.

This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration; that policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as the result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tide water.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain.

Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy

our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy.

Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors, flying the Stars and Stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry.

Under a quarter century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates, and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty, and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in Old-World monarchies—their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace—Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy, an American policy.

Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reduc-

ing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics—aquiescence in the will of the majority—that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength.

Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that that wrong were righted in his person, for the Democracy of the United States we offer to him in his withdrawal from public cares not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen—the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of this Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles, and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

PRESIDENTIAL VOTE FROM 1789 TO 1880.

Year.	CANDIDATE.	Party.	POPULAR VOTE	Electoral Vote.
1789	Geo. Washington..	.....	Electors chosen by State Legislatures.	Unanimous.
1796	John Adams.....	Federal	do do	71
	Thomas Jefferson..	Dem.		69
1800	Thomas Jefferson..	Dem.	Elected by House of Rep. on 36th ballot.	73
	Aaron Burr.....	Dem.		73
	John Adams	Federal		65
1804	Thomas Jefferson..	Dem.	Electors chosen by State Legislatures.	148
	C. C. Pinckney	Federal		28
1808	James Madison	Dem.	do do	122
	C. C. Pinckney	Federal		47
1812	James Madison	Dem.	do do	128
	DeWitt Clinton	Federal		89
1816	James Monroe.....	Dem.	do do	183
	Rufus King.....	Federal		34
1820	James Monroe.....	Dem.	But one electoral vote in opposition.	.....
1824	*John Q. Adams...	Federal	105,321	84
	Andrew Jackson...	Dem.	155,872	99
	W H Crawford....	Dem.	44.282	41
	Henry Clay	Whig	46,587	37
1828	Andrew Jackson...	Dem.	647,231	178
	John Q. Adams....	Federal	509,097	83
1832	Andrew Jackson...	Dem.	987 502	219
	Henry Clay	Whig	530,189	49
	John Floyd.....	Whig	... .	11
	William Wirt... ..	Whig	.....	7
1836	Martin VanBuren..	Dem.	761,549	170
	Wm. H. Harrison ..	Whig	736,656	121
	et als.			
1840	Wm. H. Harrison..	Whig	1,275,011	234
	Martin VanBuren..	Dem.	1,135,761	60
1844	James K. Polk	Dem.	1,337.243	170
	Henry Clay.....	Whig	1,361,362	105
1848	Zachary Taylor....	Whig	1,360.099	163
	Lewis Cass	Dem.	1,220 554	127
	Martin VanBuren..	Dem.	291,263	.....
1852	Franklin Pierce...	Dem.	1,601,474	254
	Winfield Scott....	Whig	1,542,403	42
	et al.			

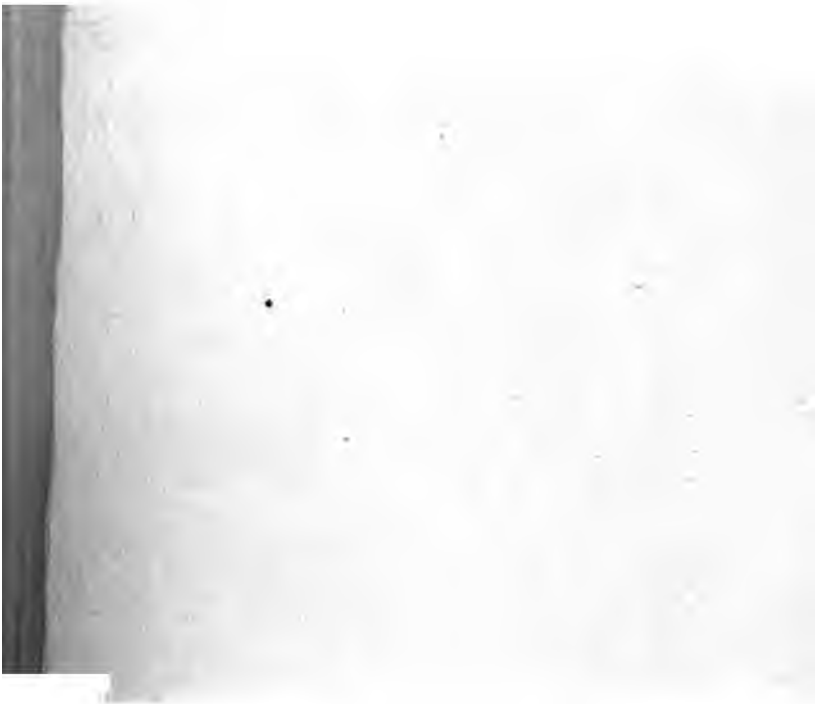
Electoral Vote 1880 1884		
STATE.	No.	No.
Alabama	10	10
Arkansas.....	6	7
California.....	6	8
Colorado	3	3
Connecticut....	6	6
Delaware.....	3	3
Florida.....	4	4
Georgia.....	11	12
Illinois..	21	22
Indiana.....	15	15
Iowa.....	11	13
Kansas.....	5	9
Kentucky.....	12	13
Louisiana.....	8	8
Maine.....	7	6
Maryland.....	8	8
Massachusetts.	13	14
Michigan.....	11	13
Minnesota.....	5	7
Mississippi	8	9
Missouri.....	15	16
Nebraska.....	3	5
Nevada.....	3	3
N. Hampshire.	5	4
New Jersey....	9	9
New York.....	35	36
N. Carolina....	10	11
Ohio.....	22	23
Oregon.....	3	3

* Elected by House of Representatives.

PRFSIDENTIAL VOTE.—*Concluded.*

Year.	CANDIDATE.	Party	POPULAR VOTE	Electoral Vote.
1856	James Buchanan...	Dem.	1,838,169	174
	John C. Fremont ..	Repub.	2,215,768	122
1860	Abraham Lincoln..	Repub.	1,866,352	180
	Stephen A. Douglas *et al*	Dem.	2,810,501	123
1864	Abraham Lincoln..	Repub.	2,216,067	213
	Geo. B. McClellan.	Dem.	1,808,725	21
1868	Ulysses S. Grant ..	Repub.	3,015,071	214
	Horatio Seymour ..	Dem.	2,709,613	80
1872	Ulysses S. Grant ..	Repub.	3,597,070	300
	Horace Greeley....	Dem.	2,834,079	66
1876	Ruth. B. Hayes....	Repub.	4,042 067	185
	Samuel J. Tilden..	Dem.	4,291.491	184
	Peter Cooper.....	G. B.	80,911	.....
1880	James A. Garfield .	Repub.	4,442,950	214
	W. S. Hancock .. .	Dem.	4,442.035	155
	James B. Weaver..	G. B.	306.867	.....
	Scattering.		12,576	.....

Electoral Vote, 1880 1884		
STATE.	No.	No.
Pennsylvania..	29	30
Rhode Island..	4	4
S. Carolina....	7	9
Tennessee.....	12	12
Texas.....	8	12
Vermont.....	5	4
Virginia.....	11	12
West Virginia.	5	6
Wisconsin.....	10	11
Total.....	369	401



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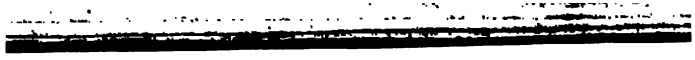

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